

The University of Chicago

SOCIO-ECONOMIC APPROACH TO EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

AN EXPANSION OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
1942

By
INA CORINNE BROWN

NATIONAL SURVEY OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF NEGROES
FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C., 1942

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Contents

	Page		Page
FOREWORD.....	VII	CHAPTER V. STATE ANALYSES (WITH MAPS)—Con.	
INTRODUCTION.....	IX	5. Florida.....	72
CHAPTER I. THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES IN THE		6. Georgia.....	74
AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.....	1	7. Kentucky.....	76
CHAPTER II. THE BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN RACE		8. Louisiana.....	78
RELATIONS:		9. Maryland.....	80
1. The Negro as a Minority Group in America.....	3	10. Mississippi.....	82
2. The Problem of Group Antipathy.....	3	11. Missouri.....	84
3. Nonracial Antipathy in the Ancient World.....	4	12. North Carolina.....	86
4. Development of Race Antipathy in the Modern		13. Oklahoma.....	88
World.....	6	14. South Carolina.....	90
5. American Slavery and Race Relations.....	8	15. Tennessee.....	92
6. The Biological Factor in Race Relations.....	11	16. Texas.....	94
7. Race Relations in the American Social Order.....	17	17. Virginia.....	96
CHAPTER III. REGIONAL FACTORS IN THE SOCIO-		18. West Virginia.....	98
ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES:		CHAPTER VI. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND THE HIGHER	
1. The Negro Population.....	22	EDUCATION OF NEGROES:	
2. The South and the Nation.....	24	1. Education of Negroes as a Special Problem.....	100
3. Regional Problems of the South.....	26	2. National Aspects of the Status and Education of	
4. Regional Problems and Human Welfare.....	33	Negroes.....	101
5. The Negro as a Minority Group in a Handicapped		3. Regional and State Planning for the Higher Edu-	
Region.....	39	cation of Negroes.....	102
CHAPTER IV. REGIONAL VARIATIONS: THE COUNTY		4. The Problem of the College in Defining its Func-	
ANALYSIS:		tion.....	103
1. Basic Factors in the County Analysis.....	46	5. The College and the Socio-economic Status of	
2. The County Type.....	47	Negroes.....	106
3. Plane of Living Index.....	54	6. Special Objectives in the Higher Education of	
4. Percent Negroes Are of the County Population....	56	Negroes.....	107
5. Percent of Negro Population that is Urban.....	59	APPENDIX A. SUGGESTIONS FOR APPLYING SOCIO-ECO-	
6. Location of the County with Respect to Negro		NOMIC DATA TO EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.....	109
Colleges.....	61	APPENDIX B. METHODOLOGY:	
7. Socio-economic Factors and Educational Oppor-		1. Statement of Problem.....	117
tunity.....	63	2. Social Structure, Race Attitudes, and the Status	
CHAPTER V. STATE ANALYSES (WITH MAPS).....	65	of Negroes.....	117
1. Alabama.....	66	3. County Analysis.....	121
2. Arkansas.....	68	4. Sources of Data Used in the Study.....	122
3. Delaware.....	70	APPENDIX C. TABLES.....	125
4. District of Columbia.....	70	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	163

Tables

COUNTY TYPE:	Page
A-1. Distribution of counties according to percent change in total population (1920-30) and county type.....	125
A-2. Distribution of counties according to percent change in Negro population (1920-30) and county type.....	125
A-3. Distribution of counties according to percent Negroes are of county population and county type.....	126
A-4. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro population that is urban and county type.....	126
A-5. Distribution of counties according to Plane of Living Index and county type.....	127
A-6. Distribution of counties according to Modern Conveniences Index and county type.....	127
A-7. Distribution of counties according to subscribers to national magazines per 100 families and county type.....	128
A-8. Distribution of counties according to number of individual income tax returns per 1,000 total population and county type.....	128
A-9. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants and county type.....	129
A-10. Distribution of counties according to percent Negro families owning own home and county type.....	129
A-11. Distribution of counties according to location of county with respect to Negro colleges and county type.....	130
A-12. Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and county type.....	130
A-13. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and county type.....	131
A-14. Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and county type.....	131

COUNTY TYPE—Continued.

	Page
A-15. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and county type----	132
A-16. Distribution of counties according to percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school and county type-----	132
A-17. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of all school enrollment in high school and county type-----	133
A-18. Distribution of counties according to average salaries of Negro high-school teachers and county type-----	133
A-19. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average salaries of high-school teachers and county type----	134
A-20. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and county type--	134
A-21. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent teachers with 2 or more years of college training and county type-----	135
A-22. Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and county type-----	135

PLANE OF LIVING INDEX:

B-1. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants and Plane of Living Index-----	136
B-2. Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and Plane of Living Index-----	136
B-3. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and Plane of Living Index-----	136
B-4. Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and Plane of Living Index-----	137
B-5. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and Plane of Living Index-----	137
B-6. Distribution of counties according to percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school and Plane of Living Index--	137
B-7. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of all school enrollment in high school and Plane of Living Index-----	138
B-8. Distribution of counties according to average salaries of Negro high-school teachers and Plane of Living Index-----	138
B-9. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average salaries of high-school teachers and Plane of Living Index-----	138
B-10. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and Plane of Living Index-----	139
B-11. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent teachers with 2 or more years of college training and Plane of Living Index-----	139
B-12. Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and Plane of Living Index-----	139

PERCENT NEGROES ARE OF COUNTY POPULATION:

C-1. Distribution of counties according to Plane of Living Index and percent Negroes are of county population-----	140
C-2. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants and percent Negroes are of county population-----	140
C-3. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro families owning own home and percent Negroes are of county population-----	140
C-4. Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and percent Negroes are of county population--	141
C-5. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and percent Negroes are of county population-----	141
C-6. Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and percent Negroes are of county population-----	141
C-7. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and percent Negroes are of county population-----	142
C-8. Distribution of counties according to percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school and percent Negroes are of county population-----	142
C-9. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of all school enrollment in high school and percent Negroes are of county population-----	142
C-10. Distribution of counties according to average salaries of Negro high-school teachers and percent Negroes are of county population-----	143
C-11. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average salaries of high-school teachers and percent Negroes are of county population-----	143
C-12. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and percent Negroes are of county population-----	143
C-13. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent teachers with 2 or more years college training and percent Negroes are of county population-----	144
C-14. Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and percent Negroes are of county population-----	144

PERCENT OF NEGRO POPULATION THAT IS URBAN:

D-1. Distribution of counties according to Plane of Living Index and percent of Negro population that is urban-----	144
D-2. Distribution of counties according to percent Negroes are of county population and percent of Negro population that is urban-----	145
D-3. Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and percent of Negro population that is urban--	145
D-4. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and percent of Negro population that is urban-----	145

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO POPULATION THAT IS URBAN—Continued.

	Page
D-5. Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and percent of Negro population that is urban.....	146
D-6. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and percent of Negro population that is urban.....	146
D-7. Distribution of counties according to percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school and percent of Negro population that is urban.....	146
D-8. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of all school enrollment in high school and percent of Negro population that is urban.....	147
D-9. Distribution of counties according to average salaries of Negro high-school teachers and percent of Negro population that is urban.....	147
D-10. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average salaries of high-school teachers and percent of Negro population that is urban.....	147
D-11. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and percent of Negro population that is urban.....	148
D-12. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of teachers with 2 or more years of college training and percent of Negro population that is urban.....	148
D-13. Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and percent of Negro population that is urban.....	148

LOCATION OF COUNTY WITH RESPECT TO NEGRO COLLEGES:

E-1. Distribution of counties according to Plane of Living Index and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	149
E-2. Distribution of counties according to percent Negroes are of county population and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	149
E-3. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro population that is urban and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	149
E-4. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	150
E-5. Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	150
E-6. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	150
E-7. Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	151
E-8. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	151
E-9. Distribution of counties according to percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	151
E-10. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of all school enrollment in high school and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	152
E-11. Distribution of counties according to average salaries of Negro high-school teachers and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	152
E-12. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average salaries of high-school teachers and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	152
E-13. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	153
E-14. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent teachers with 2 or more years of college training and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	153
E-15. Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	153

MISCELLANEOUS TABLES:

F-1. Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled.....	154
F-2. Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school.....	154
F-3. Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19.....	154
F-4. Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and percent of all gainfully employed Negro males in agriculture.....	155
F-5. Distribution of counties according to average value of farms operated by Negro farm operators and percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants.....	155
F-6. Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and Modern Conveniences Index....	155

STATE DISTRIBUTIONS:

S-1. Distribution of counties by States and county types.....	156
S-2. Distribution of counties by States and percent of change in Negro population: 1920-30.....	156
S-3. Distribution of counties by States and percent that Negroes were of total county population in 1930.....	157

STATE DISTRIBUTIONS—Continued.

	Page
S-4. Distribution of counties by States and percent of Negro population that was urban in 1930.....	157
S-5. Distribution of counties by States and Plane of Living Index.....	158
S-6. Distribution of counties by States and percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants.....	158
S-7. Distribution of counties by States according to location of county with respect to Negro colleges.....	159
S-8. Distribution of counties by States according to average length of Negro school term.....	159
S-9. Distribution of counties by States according to Negro-white ratio of average length of school term.....	159
S-10. Distribution of counties by States and current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled.....	160
S-11. Distribution of counties by States and Negro-white ratio of current expenditure per pupil enrolled.....	160
S-12. Distribution of counties by States and percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school.....	160
S-13. Distribution of counties by States and Negro-white ratio of percent of all school enrollment in high school.....	161
S-14. Distribution of counties by States and average salary of Negro high-school teachers.....	161
S-15. Distribution of counties by States and Negro-white ratio of average salary of high-school teachers.....	161
S-16. Distribution of counties by States and percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training.....	162
S-17. Distribution of counties by States and Negro-white ratio of the percent of teachers with 2 or more years of college training.....	162
S-18. Distribution of counties by States and number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county.....	162

Illustrations

Figure	Page	Figure	Page
1. The percent Negroes were of the Southern population by counties, 1930.....	21	11. The Negro-white ratio of teachers with 2 or more years of college training, and the Negro-white ratio of teachers' salaries, in relation to county type.....	53
2. Distribution of rural-farm population, 1930.....	24	12. The current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled in relation to the Negro-white ratio of current expenditure per pupil enrolled.....	54
3. Estimated retail sales per capita, by States, 1929 and 1933; also income per capita 1929.....	27	13. The percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training in relation to the Plane of Living Index.....	55
4. Density of farm population by counties: Value of farm land per capita of the farm population, 1930..	31	14. The number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19, in relation to the percent Negroes are of the county population.....	58
5. Plane of Living, 1928-29, adapted from Goodrich and others, <i>Migration and Economic Opportunity</i>	35	15. The Negro-white ratio current expenditure per pupil enrolled in relation to the percent Negroes are of the county population.....	59
6. Number of children 7-13 per 1,000 adults aged 20-64, by counties, 1930.....	37	16. The percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school in relation to the percent of Negro population that is urban.....	60
7. Percentage of tax resources of each State (as estimated by Newcomer) needed to provide amount for education equal to the national average (\$58 per child 5-17 years) by States, 1930.....	39	17. The number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in relation to the percent of Negro population that is urban.....	61
8. The percent change in total population and in Negro population 1920-30 in relation to county type....	48		
9. The length of Negro school term in relation to county type.....	51		
10. The current expenditure per white pupil enrolled, and per Negro pupil enrolled, in relation to county types..	52		

Foreword

IN 1939 the Congress charged the U. S. Office of Education with the responsibility of making a study of the higher education of Negroes. This action by the Congress resulted from a request by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes, endorsed by many other educational leaders, particularly presidents of Negro land-grant colleges.

The national study was planned with the aid of an advisory committee appointed by the U. S. Commissioner of Education (see inside cover pages for names). Reports of progress have been discussed from time to time not only with this advisory committee, but with other individuals and groups as opportunity afforded. Plans and procedures have been modified, of course, in the light of the counsel thus received.

The report of the study will appear in three volumes and one leaflet, *the latter summarizing the principal findings and recommendations*. The first of these three volumes—the present one—deals with socio-economic factors, as a background for understanding the educational problems involved.

The second and third volumes deal mostly with the data gleaned from the Negro colleges and universities themselves, including statistics, historical and current, on students, staff, income and expenditures, the curricula maintained, the results of tests of freshmen and seniors, economic and other factors in the status of Negro high-school seniors, student health, college libraries, and a comprehensive qualitative evaluation of the total program of a representative group of Negro colleges.

In such an undertaking as a national study of the higher education of Negroes, the cooperation of many persons is necessary. Such cooperation has been widely sought and most graciously given. It is impossible to name all who have contributed significantly to the project, but mention both on behalf of the author and the U. S. Office of Education should be made of the following for their help in the preparation of this volume: Charles S. Johnson and Eli S. Marks, both of the Social Science Department of Fisk University, assumed practically full responsibility for assembling and tabulating the voluminous data about each of the

counties of the South having as many as 5 percent of their population Negro in 1930; Charles G. Gomillion and Thomas E. Davis, both members of the survey staff rendered invaluable aid in devising ways to display the facts most effectively, in calculating measures of central tendency of the arrays of figures in the tables, and in checking the figures used throughout the manuscript; the cover and the State maps and graphs were drawn by Mary A. Walker, Editorial Division.

Because of the nature of Chapter II, which deals with the background of race relations, it was thought desirable to submit the draft of this chapter to certain scholars who agreed beforehand to read it critically. Those who offered criticisms either in conference or by letter include:

WILL W. ALEXANDER, Consultant on Minority Groups, Office of Production Management, United States Government.

JACKSON DAVIS, Associate Director, The Southern Education Division, the General Education Board.

JOHN W. DAVIS, President, West Virginia State College.

MARY E. DECHERD, Assistant Professor of Pure Mathematics, University of Texas.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, Professor of Anthropology, Northwestern University.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Director, Department of Social Science, Fisk University.

FRANCES C. MCLESTER, General Board of Christian Education, Methodist Church.

HOWARD W. ODUM, Director, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina.

JOHN POMFRET, Dean of the Graduate School, Vanderbilt University.

HOMER P. RAINEY, President, University of Texas.

ROBERT L. SUTHERLAND, Director of the Hogg Foundation, University of Texas.

CHARLES H. THOMPSON, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Howard University.

W. LLOYD WARNER, Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

While these persons are not to be held responsible for any of the facts or opinions stated in the volume, their criticisms have been most helpful and are deeply appreciated.

JOHN W. STUDEBAKER,
U. S. Commissioner of Education.

Introduction

IF YOU wish to know how far the civilization of a country has advanced, you ask "How good are its universities?" Social progress and university development go hand in hand. The broad purpose of higher education is to help set the goals for which society strives and to do its part to accelerate the movement towards those goals, by providing the best opportunity for development to its most capable men and women.

Any society which neglects to develop its most capable men and women, to the degree of that neglect fails to take advantage of the most important means of social progress. It is this fact which gives unusual significance to a national study of the higher education of Negroes. In spite of increasingly clear evidence that many Negroes possess capabilities of a high order, the opportunities for the development of those capabilities are meager. Society is without doubt the loser. This fact when coupled with the effects upon national unity and morale of the undemocratic practices still accompanying racial discrimination makes very timely this study.

It is to be regretted that, due to limited time and funds, almost no consideration could be given to the conditions affecting Negroes outside the South.¹ It will be noted, however, that this study has given more attention than is customary in educational studies to the socio-economic facts which have a bearing on the total problem of the Negro's life and education.

The present volume (prepared by Ina Corinne Brown of the survey staff) presents a systematic analysis of a vast amount of information, both historical and current, which is basic to the question of adequate opportunity for the higher education of Negroes. To this task the author, who was born and educated in Texas, brings a wealth of experience gained in years of research, writing, and teaching in the South. This experience was followed by 3 years of intensive study in the field of Social Anthropology at the University of Chicago. Miss Brown has also traveled extensively in Africa and spent a year in research on problems of race relations in the library of the British Museum in London.

These facts seem important to record because the problems of race relations and other socio-economic questions affecting the higher education of Negroes are bound to involve issues which are difficult to discuss dispassionately. Miss Brown has already established herself by her previous writings as one whose careful scientific approach to these issues is acceptable to lead-

ers of both races. Her treatment in the present volume of the most controversial phases of race relations has been read before publication by a representative group of these leaders and commended not only for its thoroughness but also for its lack of bias.

Thoughtful men and women, North and South, white and Negro, wish to know and face the truth. Therefore, the present volume, I trust, will be welcomed as a contribution to the solution of a problem which is perplexing honest and intelligent leaders everywhere. Unfortunate conditions are described in this volume, but the explanation, usually historical, imputes no blameworthy intentions to anyone. Honesty of purpose is assumed. It would not be worth while, otherwise, to display the facts in the hope of influencing practice.

One other point should be made clear at the outset. In spite of the stress throughout the volume upon conditions which call for improvement, there is striking evidence of the steady progress which has been made in recent decades in higher education for Negroes. There is no intention to suggest that radical or revolutionary procedures supplant this steady progress. But progress, by its very nature, must encounter, if not actually create, new problems from time to time. It is to shed light on these new problems that studies like the present one are carried out. Above all, such studies must facilitate continued progress, and not by their description of the status quo tend to "freeze" conditions as they are.

The fear that this "freezing" effect might result from the present study, even if inadvertently, has troubled a few friends of Negro higher education from the beginning. This fear was induced in part by the fact that the purpose of the study as stated in the initial request made by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes included this phrase: "To determine the areas of educational concentration and specialization upon which the various colleges should embark." This was interpreted by a few to mean that some Nation-wide scheme was to be worked out into which each college and university would be expected to fit. Such a scheme would, of course, be relatively inflexible and unchanging.

The socio-economic data in this volume should effectively dispel such fear if any still remains. The most pervading concept which runs through all its chapters is "change." The most challenging demand which will surely be felt by the college leaders as they peruse this volume is how to prepare their students to fit into the ever changing conditions of our time.

¹ A section on *Higher Education of Negroes in Northern Universities* will appear in Volume II of the survey report.

More than three-fourths of the 12 million American Negroes live where separate schools and colleges for white and Negro youth are legally mandatory. Furthermore, the States with separate schools and colleges are, for the most part, the States which are lowest in economic and educational indices for the total as well as the Negro population.

In the light of the problems which these facts suggest, this volume sets forth briefly the social and economic backgrounds of the situation and analyzes some of the more significant factors affecting the higher education of Negroes. The first chapter states briefly the problem of educating a minority group in a democracy.

The second chapter is given to the background of American race relations. This chapter sketches the background of our present bi-racial social organization; analyzes some of the problems and assumptions which underlie such an organization; and suggests some of the implications of the total situation which are related to needs and problems in the education of Negroes. The statement is not primarily evaluative. Its chief function is to assist in the understanding of such questions and problems as the way in which the present patterns of relationships and attitudes came to be, how these patterns are perpetuated, the social effects incident to their maintenance in a democracy, and some of the conditions which need to be met if changes in the social structure are to be brought about.

The next chapter recognizes that the problems of the Negro, whether economic, social, or educational, are racial only in part. In large measure they are inextricably interwoven with the conditions of the region in which he lives. Significant improvement can be made by attacking the Negro's problems directly, but fundamental changes can come only as the basic problems of the South as a region are solved. The economic and social unity of the Nation and the degree of migration—white and Negro—from the South, make this regional situation a matter of national interest and concern. A summary of the basic problems of the region and a brief analysis of its economic, cultural, and educational structure are followed by a discussion of the special problems of the Negro as a minority group in this area. Attention is given to the occupational limitations, cultural deprivations, and inferior schools and colleges which affect the Negro in his group life and individual personality.

After a discussion of the factors affecting the region as a whole, a chapter is devoted to the wide variations not only within the region but within States. This approach to the problem is made from the standpoint of county types. Not all counties are homogeneous units, but the county is the smallest unit for which population, school, and other data are available. The survey is indebted to Prof. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University for the basic typing of the 966 counties in which 5 percent or more of the population is Negro.

These counties are classified on the basis of major economy, industrialization, and urbanization.

For each of these counties some 80 items of social, economic, and educational data were entered on Hollerith cards and their inter-relationships thus revealed. The significance of this county approach appears in the tables showing the relation of county types to various cultural and educational indices. The social structure of a county as revealed in its basic economy, the presence or absence of industrialization, the degree of urbanization, and the proportion Negroes are of its population, is found to show a significant correlation with the Negro's opportunity as indicated by such data as the Negro-white ratios of per capita school expenditures, length of school term, proportion of school enrollment in high school, and teachers' salaries.

The methodology of the total study and the county tables appear as appendices.

Utilizing the data on county types and other relevant materials, maps drawn on county lines were prepared for each of the 17 States in which there are separate schools for Negroes. These maps showing the number of Negroes, the county types, the location of Negro colleges, and other data are accompanied by brief State summaries. These maps and summaries constitute chapter V. They enable one to see at a glance many of the facts and relationships which it would be laborious to glean from the tables.

In a final chapter an attempt is made to interpret these various historical, social, economic, and educational data in terms of the needs and problems of the higher education of Negroes. It is clear that economic discrimination, cultural deprivations, and school differentials place heavy obstacles in the path of a group which has had less than three generations in which to overcome the handicaps of ignorance, poverty, and low status which were concomitants of slavery. Out of the separate colleges for Negroes must come, for the present at least, most of the leadership within the Negro group. Yet these institutions too often have grown up without plan as to location or function, and too many of them are held back from full usefulness by inadequate funds, poor facilities, and mediocre faculties.

This volume reveals many social and economic conditions surrounding the higher education of Negroes which must be deplored, but it will be regrettable if impatience with the present unfavorable conditions is allowed to obscure the fact that the only sure method of advance is the gradual evolutionary one. Legislation, if wisely conceived, can help that evolutionary process but cannot replace it. Whatever is done must be done within the framework of the present social structure and with due regard for the traditions and customs of the people. But this social structure, these traditions and customs, are not static and fixed. They are changing. Any sug-

gestions for action should have as their purpose the facilitation of those orderly changes.

It is hoped that this socio-economic volume of the Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes will be useful both to those who are responsible for the programs of specific institutions, and to those who have State and National interest and responsibility for educational policies affecting a group who constitute one-tenth of the Nation's population. Consideration of the data makes clear the fact that the problems involved in the education of Negroes are by no means simple and they cannot be solved by Negroes alone. Any adequate solution calls for long-term State and National planning, and the full cooperation of both races throughout the Nation. The problems are educational, but they are also cultural, economic, and sometimes political. They are certainly national in scope and they deeply affect the unity and welfare of the country as a whole.

I now venture to make certain suggestions which appear to follow from this socio-economic study. Nothing here suggested is intended to replace or to interrupt the steady and rapid improvement which has been in progress for 75 years in the higher education of Negroes. Rather are these suggestions made in the hope of assuring the continuity of this improvement and if possible its acceleration. Moreover, these suggestions are made with full realization that the higher education of Negroes is not a problem for the Negroes alone. It is a national problem. Its solution should be earnestly sought by all men of good will throughout the country.

The first suggestion is that the Federal Government might well participate in developing high-grade university education for either or both races wherever in the country it cannot be developed from other public or private funds.

While this suggestion would apply impartially to all parts of the country it has unusual significance for those States in which separate colleges are maintained for white and for Negro students. In these States more than elsewhere plans for higher education must be made on a regional or national basis because in many cases it would be uneconomical for each State to maintain two high-grade universities even if it could afford to do so.

The suggestion of Federal participation in higher education rests upon two basic arguments.

(a) Simple justice demands that reasonably equal opportunity be assured to the citizens of the United States, regardless of race or place of birth; and

(b) National welfare demands that human resources be conserved and developed by affording men and women of ability without regard to race a chance to make their maximum contribution to social progress.

This is not an appropriate place to defend either of these arguments at length. They are already widely accepted. It is necessary here only to make sure that they are not misunderstood in their application to Federal participation in the support of higher education.

The argument of Federal responsibility to assure reasonably equal opportunity to all citizens applies, of course, to education at the elementary and secondary schools level quite as forcibly as to the higher education level. It may be, however, that State, local, and private resources may more easily be enlisted to bring about equality of opportunity on the lower level than on the higher. If not, the responsibility of the Federal Government applies alike at all levels. The urgent need at present for National unity and for a Nation-wide support of democracy in its contest with dictatorship, emphasizes the importance of making the fruits of democracy more uniformly available to all citizens than at present. Much recent Federal legislation and certain Supreme Court decisions indicate the growing consciousness of the Federal Government of its responsibility to lessen the wide differences which now exist in the opportunity open to various groups of citizens. It seems a logical next step for the Federal Government to see that inequalities due to race or place of birth be reduced and ultimately eliminated.

With reference to the second argument, the conservation and development of human resources, the application to higher education is quite direct. Creative scholars are the most precious of human resources. There cannot be an oversupply. Every potential creative scholar left undeveloped is a loss to society. The university is the agency set up by society to develop scholars, and in the realm of scholarship there are no color lines. Just as this country has but lately become acutely aware of the waste of natural resources which has been going on for decades, so this country is realizing how wasteful is its present practice with respect to the development of its human resources. Just as the Federal Government is taking steps to conserve its material resources, so it seems reasonable that the government will take an increasingly active interest in conserving and developing its human resources.

The second suggestion is that each State might well canvass critically its part in assuring adequate higher education to its people of both races. In the scheme of American Government, education is a function of the State, of local communities, and of private agencies. The State creates and maintains publicly controlled universities and colleges, and charters privately controlled ones. Too seldom does a State give adequate attention to its consequent responsibility to see that higher education of the right type and quality is available to all of her citizens.

The planning on the part of a State to accomplish these objectives calls for the cooperation of all its institutions of higher education, public and private, in deciding upon the place of each one in the State-wide scheme. It calls also for the cooperation of each State with neighboring States to maintain certain types of colleges—particularly professional and graduate schools—in one State to serve the needs of several States.

The third suggestion is that the institutions of higher education, particularly those for Negroes, examine the socio-economic data bearing upon their objectives, and plan their programs with clear reference to the needs of the students they serve. They may well cooperate on State-wide and regional bases with other colleges and universities so as to allocate to each institution appropriate services which should not be given in all of them. Agreements should be reached by neighboring colleges on the basis of which the resources of the several colleges might be available to students in any of them.

When a college has thus determined its objectives, has adjusted its program to meet these objectives, and has entered into State-wide and inter-institutional cooperative plans to avoid costly duplication, it is to be hoped that churches and philanthropists will join even more generously than in the past with the Federal, State, and local governments to see that these colleges and universities are enabled to render the types and quality of service needed.

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U. S. Office of Education.

Democracies depend on education for their existence Modern school systems, therefore, teach history and literature because these reveal man in the process of his development, and help in the formation of ideals which guide in individual and social conduct; they teach geography and natural history because these tell of the environment in which men have to live; they teach science because it gives the power to control the forces of nature; they teach music, drawing, and the other fine arts because these arts open the eyes of men to see the beauties of the world about them, develop their emotional life, and help them to express what words cannot; and finally they give vocational training—the technique, methods, and habits of work—to enable men to make a living intelligently and to solve their economic and industrial problems. To accomplish these results, it is necessary that the means of education be organized through cooperating groups. A democratic state is such a cooperative society. Education should be its chief function.

CHARLES W. DABNEY. *Universal Education in the South.* Vol. I, Introduction vii–viii.

Chapter I. The Education of Negroes in the American Democracy

IT IS a commonplace to say that an educational program should be related to the needs and problems of the people it serves. Thus while the fundamental aims of higher education may be valid for the country as a whole, there must be differences in secondary aims and in the methods of attaining objectives if an educational program is to be realistic in specific situations. The fact that in the South Negroes are educated in separate schools and colleges in itself constitutes one such specific situation. This fact alone would justify a study of the higher education of Negroes as a special project.

This first volume¹ of the National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes is concerned with social and economic factors as they relate to the special educational needs and problems of the Nation's largest minority group. It would have been possible, of course, simply to take for granted that the present social structure, including the dual system of schools and colleges, is fixed and, consequently, to limit the survey to an institutional study which would involve no inquiry into the assumptions which underlie the present system. There are many reasons, however, why an examination should be made not only of the background of the dual schools but also of the whole pattern of race relations within the American social order.

In the first place, we are in the midst of a period in which the democratic way of life is being severely tested. The democratic ideal is achieved to the extent to which all the people of the Nation participate in the democratic process. Such participation implies freedom from limitations imposed upon the individual solely because of arbitrary factors such as race, sex, or religious faith. Essentially, a democracy implies a recognition of the value of the individual; such freedom of the individual as is consistent with the freedom of others; the right of the individual to be judged on the basis of his personal worth; and equality of opportunity for education and for freedom of occupational choice. Furthermore, the success of democracy as a tool of progress is dependent on such education and training of all individuals as will make them competent to become participating members of a democratic society.

No one with a knowledge of the facts believes that Negroes enjoy all the privileges which American democracy expressly provides for citizens of the United States, and even for those aliens of the white race who reside

among us. The question goes much deeper than that of the Negro citizen's legal right to equal educational opportunity. The question is whether American democracy, and what we like to call the American way of life, can stand the strain of perpetuating an undemocratic situation; and whether the Nation can bear the social cost of utilizing only a fraction of the potential contribution of so large a portion of the American population.

A second reason for an examination of our racial patterns lies in the fact that our present social organization was developed at a time when conditions both within and without the Nation differed from the conditions of today. It is socially wasteful to limit the opportunities of a portion of our population unless it is clear that there are either necessities or advantages which justify the cost, not only in money expended but in the economic, educational, and social inefficiency which a dual system of life implies. This dual system was developed at a time and under circumstances which made it almost inevitable that the dominant group should believe the subordinate group to be of inferior capacity.

The success of a democracy is dependent, in part at least, on the extent to which the individuals who compose the society are capable of being trained as effective participants in the democratic process. In a nation composed of various races, and particularly in a nation in which the subordinate position of a minority group is sanctioned by custom and tradition, the question still arises whether there are limitations of capacity inherent in the members of the subordinate group. The evidence which is presented by the studies of modern anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists increasingly points to the fact that there is no racial group in America the normal members of which are not, potentially at least, capable of participation in all aspects of our common life.

There would seem to be no basis, then, for the assumption that Negroes need an education different from that of white persons because of any inherent racial qualities of either group. This does not mean that there are no special problems incident to the support and curricular organization of Negro colleges and universities. These problems grow out of the position of the Negro in the American social order, and the social and economic handicaps which are a concomitant of that position. These must be understood by those responsible for planning and carrying out a system of education for

¹ The second and third volumes of the Survey are mainly concerned with the institutional aspects of the higher education of Negroes.

Negroes, and they justify a fairly detailed examination of the socio-economic factors in the lives of Negroes as a part of a national survey of the higher education of Negroes.

The needs and problems which constitute the Negro's life situation fall into two general types: First, factors which affect Negroes in the same way that white persons are affected, and, second, factors which are inherent in, or incident to, the Negro's minority group status.

A large portion of this volume is given to the kind of socio-economic data which would be relevant and important were this survey concerned with the higher education of white students in the same area. Many of the educational problems of Negroes are interwoven with the problems of the southern regions. The States which require separate schools and colleges for Negroes are, for the most part, the States which are lowest in economic and educational indices for the total as well as the Negro population. Within these States are the lowest per capita wealth, the highest ratio of children to adults, the highest tenancy and illiteracy rates, and the lowest per capita school expenditure for white as well as for Negro children. This regional situation—with many variations, to be sure—constitutes the framework within which the southern Negro's life is set, and any educational study which ignores this regional setting thereby neglects an essential aspect of the Negro's environment.

However, in addition to the needs and problems which they have in common with white persons of similar education and economic status, Negroes have many special problems growing out of their position as a minority group. Throughout many areas of the region in which the separate schools are mandatory² there are gross inequalities in the educational opportunity provided for white and for Negro youth. This educational inequality has important consequences in the elementary and secondary school training of many Negro students; it persists in the provision of higher educational opportunities; and its cumulative effect is felt in the economic, cultural, and educational level of the Negro population.

The separate school for Negroes, however, constitutes only one aspect of the bifurcation that characterizes the social structure of the South and, to an extent, that of the entire Nation. This bifurcation means that much of life is organized separately, and often in a different way, for the white and for the Negro members of the community. This organization of society—with all that it now implies in the way of occupational limitation, restrictions on mobility, and the assumption of inferiority—constitutes a major factor in the daily

experiences of Negroes. Therefore, if the Negro's education is to be related to his life situation, consideration must be given not only to the separate schools but also to all those factors incident to the position of a minority group within the Nation's population.

This relation of minority group status to educational need may be best illustrated perhaps by some of the questions which must be faced if the Negro's education is not to be divorced from the major problems of his life. For example, to what extent should an educational institution for Negroes take into account the fact that at present many industries refuse to employ Negroes in any capacity, and that many occupations are almost completely closed to Negroes regardless of individual qualifications? And what should a school or college for Negroes teach concerning the principles of democracy and the duties and responsibilities of citizenship to students who, in many cases, will not be permitted to exercise the rights and duties of citizens? Furthermore, what should a school or college for Negroes do with reference to the fact that many of the goals and values which have greatest emphasis in American life are considered by many of the dominant group to be inappropriate goals and values for a minority group, especially in the areas in which the largest number of American Negroes now live?

This volume does not attempt to give specific answers to the questions just raised. It does attempt to analyze the situation, and to make clear the fact that these and other related questions are basic problems in the lives of Negroes and hence of major importance in the determination of educational need and policy. These problems call for an understanding of the historical and sociological framework within which the Negro's life—and hence his education—is set. No educational program for Negroes can be realistic unless these factors are taken into account both in institutional adjustment to the situation and in the help given students in meeting such problems in their own lives. Moreover, an effective approach to State and national planning for the education of the Negro population must reckon with these many and varied factors which make the situation what it is today.

Democracy is a tool of progress. Human progress consists in the mastery of physical, societal, and technical forces and the resulting social order and human use [are] ends through which continuity of the evolution of society is maintained. Democracy is a specific social order designed to conserve, develop, strengthen, and give representation continuously to the basic units which go into the making of society and civilization. Democracy is, again, a means to an end, the end of which is a better society.

HOWARD W. ODUM. *American Social Problems*. p. 352.

² The following 17 States and the District of Columbia require separate schools for white and Negro students: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. There are other States in which separate schools are either mandatory or customary in certain counties or cities.

Chapter II. The Background of American Race Relations

Educational objectives, if they are to be of significant practical value must not be established in defiance of known or ascertainable facts concerning the economic and social situation as it is and as it may become. The values cherished by individuals and by social groups are the product of experience and may be changed by the same force which created them . . . Every major change in the structure of human society from tribal government to nationalism and from chattel slavery to capitalism has been accompanied by profound changes in educational purposes. A clear and exact knowledge of the status and direction of any culture is indispensable to a statement concerning its educational purposes.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION. *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. P. 324.

history of the Negro's presence in America have resulted in our present dual or biracial social organization in which the Negro's position is that of a minority group of subordinate status.

The Problem of Group Antipathy

In order to understand our present biracial organization it is necessary to know not only the historical background of the relations of the two races in America but also the sociological framework within which such relations operate. The very fact that people think of themselves as belonging to separate groups to which loyalties are attached means that they are likely to regard their group relations emotionally. It therefore may be easier to see American race relations objectively if we can place our situation in the larger context of the age-old and world-wide problem of living together; a problem which increases in acuteness with the self-consciousness of the groups involved.

We find that whenever two self-conscious groups occupy the same territory there tends to be a certain amount of competition; not only the economic competition for goods and services but also a competition for status, a struggle for rights and privileges, for power and prestige. This struggle may be silent and covert or it may take the form of open conflict. People of different races may occupy the same territory without racial competition so long as they are not racially self-conscious. As Prof. Robert E. Park says, race relations "are not so much the relations that exist between individuals of different races as between individuals conscious of these differences."² When the people involved are integrated on a racial basis and thus regard themselves as separate races in competition for status, the situation becomes racial. It is clear, however, that such a race problem is only one variety of the wider problem which includes all those situations in which self-conscious groups of any kind occupy or compete for the same territory.

This group consciousness has been described by sociologists as taking the form of in-group and out-group attitudes. It is the difference in *we* and *they*. Such group consciousness follows a pattern that is familiar to all of us. The in-group "belong" and by virtue of belonging are accorded privileges which are denied to outsiders. These privileges include the right to be judged by different standards. All sorts of favorable emotional connotations are associated with

The Negro as a Minority Group in America

THE POPULATION of the continental United States of America is made up of peoples from various parts of the world, the dominant element consisting of Western European stock. While many of the peoples who have come to America form recognizable minority groups, their differences are largely those of language and custom. As members of these groups become what we call "Americanized" these differences disappear, and, lacking any physical badge of their origin, the immigrants and their children become absorbed into the general population. An odd sounding name is often the only indication of the ancestry of the individual, and names are easily simplified or Anglicized.

Within our population, however, there are a few groups of physical appearances sufficiently different from the majority to prevent this easy absorption of the individual who becomes culturally assimilated. Orientals, some Mexicans, American Indians, and Negroes are sufficiently unlike the Western European type to be set apart not only as minority groups but more specifically as belonging to different races. Of these groups the American Negro is the one which is numerically most significant. Negroes constitute approximately one-tenth of the American people. They are farthest removed from the European in physical appearance, and they came originally from an alien culture.¹ These facts combined with the particular

¹ The word culture used in this sense refers to the total complex of beliefs, habits, customs, and ways of living of a people.

² Park, Robert E. *The Nature of Race Relations*. In *Race Relations and the Race Problem*. p. 3.

the in-group while unfavorable ones are associated with the outsiders. We believe the best of one, the worst of the other.

This type of self-centered group behavior is known as ethnocentrism,³ and it is a commonplace among anthropologists that it is to be found not only among ourselves but among primitive peoples from all parts of the world. The behavior is generally recognized as being associated with the integration and solidarity of the group. Under appropriate circumstances a threat from the outside will produce an increased solidarity on the inside. Moreover, it is quite common for this group feeling to take the form of a sense of superiority. It is an ever varying version of "surely we are the people and wisdom will die with us."

When not carried too far this ethnocentric attitude serves a useful purpose in that the very existence of a group depends on a fairly high degree of consensus, and an orderly society is possible only when the majority of its members recognize the particular habits and customs of the group as right and proper and therefore, presumably, superior. And if our own ways are superior, the ways which differ from ours are likely to be regarded as inferior.

This widespread habit of ethnocentrism is not necessarily "natural." Its prevalence may be accounted for by the fact that it is a useful mechanism for achieving group solidarity. So long as social groups are relatively small and somewhat evenly matched it is quite possible for each to look down on the other, or at least for each to regard itself as superior, without the two getting into positions of dominance and subordination. When one group gets into a position of subordination and more or less permanently inferior status, the dominant group is likely to get an exaggerated notion of superiority and the subordinate group may get such a feeling of group inferiority that even the most superior individuals in the group do not escape it.

An example will illustrate the bearing which this type of ethnocentrism has on the American race situation. Most Americans and perhaps most West Europeans regard primitive peoples and especially African Negroes as being "naturally servile." But the anthropologist who visits primitive peoples who have not been too long in contact with Europeans finds them anything but servile. Usually they are found to be both ethnocentric and proud. When Europeans first met Carib Indians the Caribs announced that "we alone are people." Greenland Eskimos found their English visitors rude, and thought the white people had come to learn virtue and good manners from Greenlanders. The Hottentots' name for themselves is *Khoi Khoi*, meaning "men of men," and countless other groups in Africa and elsewhere call themselves names that translate

"the wealthy ones," "the intelligible ones," or merely "the people."⁴

These various peoples living off the highways of the world were, at the period of exploration and conquest, less advanced in a material way than the Europeans. The contact between the two groups took place with the Europeans in possession of ships, guns, horses, and other wonders which made conquest easy. With the Europeans in control and with their obvious material and economic superiority it was easy for exaggerated dominance and subordination patterns to develop with corresponding attitudes of superiority and inferiority. This was true particularly in those areas in which the slave trade developed, though in many cases it reached its height after the slave trade was over. Then native rulers ceased to be business partners and came completely under the control of Europeans. After the beginning of European contact, in widely separated parts of Africa myths grew up to explain the superiority of whites over blacks. A pattern of this sort once established is easily perpetuated and, as will be seen later, the long period of slavery in America has served to give to white persons and Negroes in the former slave areas, attitudes of superiority and inferiority which find their correlative in one of the most extreme forms of social stratification to be found anywhere in the world today.⁵

Nonracial Antipathy in the Ancient World

That group antipathy does not necessarily follow racial lines is evidenced by the nonracial pattern of group relations in the ancient world. The early Egyptians are a striking example of a group who looked down on all outsiders and at the same time indulged in extravagant self-glorification. The Greeks divided the world into Greeks and barbarians (foreigners), and in Rome the citizens formed an in-group as opposed to those who did not possess citizenship.

It should be noted that from the time of Predynastic Egypt to the discovery of America the in-group, out-group, divisions of the world rarely fell along racial lines. It is also significant that during the same entire period slavery did not follow racial lines. In fact, up to the middle of the fifteenth century, shortly before the opening of the slave trade to America, slaves and masters were usually of the same race. The slave was often, if not always, a foreigner and a heathen or an infidel; but throughout Africa black masters held black slaves, in the Americas Indian masters held Indian slaves, and in Europe and the Mediterranean region

⁴ Hamby, Wilfred D., *Ethnology of Africa*, p. 123; also Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon. *We Europeans*. p. 164-65, and Sumner, op. cit., p. 14.

⁵ A similar form of social stratification—but with certain important differences—is to be found in South Africa. A situation such as that in the United States represents a degree of "accommodation" or adjustment between the two groups which helps to eliminate open conflict and the active antipathy which might be expected to prevail. See Robert E. Park, and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. p. 663-733.

³ William Graham Sumner in *Folkways* (p. 13) defines ethnocentrism as the technical name for that view of things "in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it."

both masters and slaves were usually white. Negro slaves existed in Egypt and in the Near East, and to an extent in Greece and Rome as well as the Iberian Peninsula,⁶ but except in Egypt they were a relatively unimportant element in the population, and moreover not all Negroes were slaves, nor were the majority of slaves Negroes.

Fair Angles had been sold in the slave markets of Rome, and Britons were sold as slaves in Ireland and in North Europe. The Greeks and Romans secured most of their slaves from North Europe or Eastern Asia, and after the rise of Islam when slavery had begun to die out in Northern Europe the Christians of South Europe enslaved Moslems and the Moslems in turn enslaved Christians. Shortly before Columbus reached the West Indies Queen Isabella of Spain sold as slaves the white Moslems—men and women—who were captured at Malaga.⁷

Until the rise of Christianity the divisions which separated peoples seem to have been what we might call general cultural ones. That is, the antagonism was generally against the foreigner irrespective of what constituted his foreignness. After the rise of Christianity the sharpest divisions of the civilized world came to follow religious lines, and this kind of division continued until the discovery of the Western Hemisphere and the rise of the slave trade. The in-group was the religious group, the out-group were pagans, heathen, infidels, or heretics.⁸

Characteristically there was one set of standards and obligations within the group, another set for dealing with those outside. It was common for both Christians and Moslems to regard it as a virtue to cheat, rob, or injure those of another religion, and indeed to treat an infidel kindly would have been regarded as giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Christians who followed this line of reasoning were often shocked and annoyed when primitive peoples with whom they dealt were discovered to have the same sort of double standard in dealing with white men.

So many persons assume that racial antipathy is a

natural or instinctive reaction that it is important to emphasize the fact that race prejudice such as we know did not exist before the modern age. To be sure there was group antipathy which those who read history backwards⁹ take to be race prejudice, but actually this antipathy had little or nothing to do with color or the other physical differences by which races are distinguished. For example, the ancient Egyptians looked down upon the Negroes to the south of them. They enslaved these Negroes and spoke scornfully of them. Many writers, reading later racial attitudes into the situation, have seen in this scorn a color prejudice. But the Egyptians were just as scornful of the Asiatic sand dwellers, or Troglodytes as Herodotus called them, and of their other neighbors who were as light or lighter than the Egyptians. The Egyptian artists caricature the wretched captives taken in the frequent wars, but they emphasize the hooked noses of the Hittites, the woolen garments of the Hebrews, and the peculiar dress of the Libyans quite as much as the color or the thick lips of the Negroes.¹⁰ That the Egyptians mixed freely with their southern neighbors, either in slavery or out of it, is evidenced by the fact that some of the Pharaohs were obviously Negroid and eventually Egypt was ruled by an Ethiopian dynasty.

One frequently finds mention of the scornful way in which Negro slaves were referred to in Greece and Rome, but the fact is that equally scornful remarks were made of the white slaves from the North and the East. There seems to be no evidence that color antipathy was involved, and of the total slave population the Negroes constituted only a minor element.¹¹

When we reach the period of Arab dominance and the rise of Islam, the lack of any race or color prejudice is still more striking. The Moslems pushed into Africa as far south as Timbuctu, and there was developed in the Western Sudan a Negro-Arabic civilization in which black and white intellectuals mingled freely. Black kings journeyed to Mecca and were showered with honors all the way, while the black scholars of Timbuctu visited and lectured at the Universities of Fez, Morocco, and Grenada. These scholars, black and white, were noted for their libraries, and at a time when North Europe was still largely illiterate the chief imports of Timbuctu were books and salt. Religion and intel-

⁶ Intellectual and commercial intercourse was freely maintained between Spain and North Africa during the period of Moslem occupation of the Peninsula. There were several thousand blacks in the Moslem army from North Africa who drove the Christians out of Southern Spain in 1086. See Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency*, p. 56-57.

⁷ William H. Prescott, says on page 39 of *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella II*, that after the conquest of Malaga one-third of the Moslem captives were exchanged for an equal number of Christian captives in Africa. Another third was appropriated to the State for the expense of the war. The remainder were distributed as presents at home and abroad. One hundred of the warriors were sent to the Pope who incorporated them into his guard and later converted them. Fifty Moorish girls were presented to the Queen of Naples, 30 to the Queen of Portugal. The remainder of the captives, men and women, were distributed to various other persons in Spain.

⁸ Prescott (ibid., p. 468) points out that it was then the opinion of good Catholics that heathen and barbarous nations were placed by the circumstances of their infidelity without the pale of both spiritual and civil rights. Their souls were doomed to eternal perdition and their bodies were the property of the Christian Nation which should occupy their soil. This religious doctrine was the basis of the justification for enslaving Moslems and later for enslaving Negroes and Indians.

⁹ George La Piana quotes a French writer who complains that retrospective judgment is used with reference to the Jews in the early centuries of the Christian era. He says the trouble is that we transport back into antiquity the ideas which we acquire in the study of the middle ages. Persons familiar with the racial attitudes developed after the slave trade read the same antipathy into the relations in the ancient world where it did not exist. See *Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire*. Harvard Theological Review, 20:183-403.

¹⁰ See Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*, for numerous descriptions of this kind. Striking photographs of the friezes showing the captives of various nations may be seen in *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, by Nina M. Davis and A. H. Gardiner.

¹¹ Gordon, Mary L., *The Nationality of Slaves Under the Roman Empire*. The Journal of Roman Studies, 14:93-111, 1924.

lectual status were important; race or color were of no special significance.¹²

During the Mameluke or slave dynasty of Egypt both black and white men held slaves of various races and white fathers handed on the throne to sons of black mothers. The Mamelukes do not represent a stable or progressive period in Egyptian history but the explanation is to be found in other than racial factors. The important point is that black and white persons occupied the same territory and their differences did not fall along racial lines.¹³

Development of Race Antipathy in the Modern World

When we come to the modern world we find a situation very different from that which existed before the discovery of the Western Hemisphere and the subsequent slave trade. Today the most deeply rooted and persistent divisions between men are those of race, and the most distinguishing badge of race is color.

The fact that wars are fought between nations and not between races does not imply that national divisions are deeper than racial ones but only that they are of a different order. The fact that men are of the same race is in no way an indication that they will think, feel, speak, or act alike, and many racial groups may be united in one nation with a common loyalty to the State. The line that divides national units may be thought of as a vertical one; that is, the groups are organized as separate political units but such divisions carry in themselves no implication of superior or inferior status. There may be antagonism and even armed conflict between the units but they fight essentially as equals and the enemies of one war may be the allies of the next. On the other hand, the line which divides the racial groups of today tends to be a horizontal one which cuts across political lines and in which there is a definite implication of status.

This horizontal division of races with color as an essential factor is now a distinguishing characteristic of Western European peoples. However, the intensity of feeling about race, and particularly about color as the badge of race, varies with different national groups. The English-speaking peoples wherever they are found exhibit a strong feeling of color prejudice whereas

South Europeans do not normally show such color antipathy.

A Portuguese chronicler wrote in 1453 an account of the first Negro slaves carried directly from West Africa into Portugal. He states explicitly that they became Christians, were freed, and that many were adopted by their former owners and later married into good families. It is clear from this account that it was becoming a Christian which mattered, and that the race and color of the captives were no barrier to their absorption into the Portuguese population.¹⁴ The situation in Spain varied somewhat from that of Portugal but there was never color prejudice such as we know today. The Spanish and Portuguese who settled in the new world intermarried freely with Indians and freely acknowledged their mulatto children by colored women.

In Mexico the Negro slaves were never very numerous and they soon became absorbed into the general population. In Brazil, to which millions of slaves were carried, the Negroes still form a considerable element in the population and in some sections of the country a large portion of the people show traces of their Negro ancestry. However, Brazil has no biracial social organization, and no race prejudice such as we know in this country. The divisions in Brazil are essentially class divisions rather than racial ones, though because of the Negro's slave origin and consequent social and economic disadvantages the class and race groups tend to coincide. The situation differs from that in the United States in the fact that in Brazil race alone is no effective barrier to advancement and that one's status is determined by other than racial factors.¹⁵

Some light may be shed on the present race situation if we can answer the two questions suggested by the preceding paragraphs. First, why do race and color divisions cut across all other lines in the modern world when they were unimportant in the ancient world, and second, why the extreme color consciousness of the English-speaking peoples in contrast to the racial tolerance of the South Europeans?

The answer seems to be found, in part at least, in the early racial and cultural isolation of North Europe, and in the slave trade which brought North Europeans in contact with West Africans at a time and in a manner designed to facilitate the creation of a dominance-subordination pattern. It has been pointed out that in the ancient world white and Negro peoples came in contact around the Mediterranean basin. While some of the Negroes were slaves there were always more white slaves than black and not all blacks were slaves. There was thus no association of race or color with

¹² The little known story of this Negro-Arabic civilization is to be found in the Arabic documents of the period such as the *Tarikh es Soudan*, and the *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, and *Leo Africanus*. These materials are made use of in such volumes as E. W. Bovill's *Caravans of the Old Sahara*; Felix Du Bois' *Timbuctu, the Mysterious*; and Maurice Delafosse's *Negroes of Africa*. For slaves who were able to write Arabic see Thomas Bluett's *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon*. See also Joseph H. Greenberg's *The Decipherment of the Ben-Ali Diary*. *Journal of Negro History*, 25:372-75.

¹³ Lane-Poole, Stanley. *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 87-152. There was jealousy between the Turkish and Sudanese regiments, and fighting followed when the latter were favored by the Caliph's mother who was herself a Sudanese, but this conflict was national rather than racial. Lane-Poole does not paint the black rulers as worse than the white ones but does ascribe the black men's conduct to their "black blood" while offering no explanation for similar conduct on the part of the white rulers.

¹⁴ The account is found in Gomez de Azurara's *Chronicle of the Conquest of Guinea*, translated by C. R. Beazley and Edgar Prestage. 1:80-86. Negro slaves were carried to Portugal regularly after 1441.

¹⁵ The situation varies in different sections of Brazil and the country as a whole perhaps has tended to take over some of the Western European patterns. The subject is ably discussed in Donald Pierson's *The Black Man in Brazil*, an unpublished Ph. D. thesis at the University of Chicago.

slavery or with inferior status.¹⁶ Black kings with their own retinues of slaves journeyed to the North and East, and the fabled Christian prince, Prester John, was sought in Africa. Striking evidence of the relationship of Europe to Africa in this period is found in the Catalan Atlas made for Charles V, in 1375. The Atlas mountains are shown broken by a pass used by "merchants going to the Land of the Negroes of Guinea." Across the center of the Sahara desert appears the figure of a Negro monarch who is being approached by a white traveller. The legend reads that "he is the richest and most noble king in all the land." This figure continued to appear on the principal world maps until the opening of the slave trade and the shifting of trade routes from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, after which time much of this earlier knowledge of the more advanced areas of Africa was forgotten.¹⁷

Then, too, the South Europeans were the darker whites and they came in contact first with the Negroid peoples of Northern and Eastern Africa. There was never any sudden contact of previously isolated white persons with Negroes. Instead there was a long history of gradual contact and association which took place on the margins of the physical and cultural areas of Europe and Africa. It is significant, too, that during the seven or eight hundred years of Moslem influence in the Mediterranean the sharp lines of division were religious and not racial. Moreover, the Moors, who were in positions of dominance, were probably darker than the South Europeans. The region, therefore, was one in which there was a high degree of racial and color tolerance.

The North Europeans had no such background as their southern neighbors. The main lines of communication for the civilized world ran east and west, and North Europe developed in relative isolation. The English, in particular, seem to have developed a certain insular attitude, or at least an exclusive attitude characterized their first contacts with people of other races. The first considerable contact of the English with Negroes took place more than a century after the Portuguese were settled in West Africa. Therefore the cultural gap between the English and the Africans was wider at the time of contact than that of the Portuguese with the Negroes a century earlier. Moreover, the English contact was sudden, not gradual; it was the lighter North European in contact with the darkest of African Negroes; and the contact was primarily that of master and slave.

It is significant that the strongest racial antipathy

developed not in England itself, but among the English colonists in the slave-holding areas. The English in the West Indies and in the United States never knew the Negro except as slave or freedman. At the same time the slavery of white persons disappeared and slavery, along with the inferior status it implied, came to be associated with the dark skin and other physical characteristics of the Negro peoples.

The English traders on the West African coast dealt with kings and chiefs from whom they bought their human cargoes, and the sons of these African rulers were often carried to England where they were regally entertained and sometimes presented at court. There was a tendency therefore for persons in England to distinguish between Negro slaves and the chiefs and kings whom they sometimes referred to as "the better sort," and the press reports of the day spoke of the visiting "black gentlemen."¹⁸ The only "black gentlemen" who ever reached America or the West Indies were those who had been kidnapped or sold into slavery as the victims of war.

A further factor affecting the more extreme attitude in the colonies was the number of Negroes involved. There were never more than a few thousand Negroes, slave or free, in England and after the decision of Judge Mannfield in 1772 the slave was automatically freed when he set foot on English soil. In the American colonies the slaves furnished a large element in the population, and in the West Indies the Negroes outnumbered the whites several times over. Where the servile population equalled or outnumbered the whites the subordination of the Negroes with the correlative attitudes became an essential element in social control.

It is worth noting that slavery was not at first justified on the basis of the Negro's inferiority but by the fact that he was a heathen. The early colonists had to be assured specifically that the baptism of a slave would not involve the necessity of granting him his freedom. In 1646 a Massachusetts ship captain was required to return some slaves to Africa because he had kidnapped them instead of buying his cargo from local chiefs who presumably sold only captives taken in "just wars."¹⁹ It was not until the slavery pattern was firmly established and the Negroes conditioned to the slave status that the notion of racial inferiority came to be used generally as a justification for keeping succeeding generations in bondage.²⁰

¹⁸ Numerous accounts of these sons of West African rulers appear in the British publications of the period. Some of the accounts have been collected in Elizabeth Donnan's *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America*. For an account of the most distinguished of these young men—one who was kidnapped and made a slave but ultimately freed, presented at court, and then returned to his people, see Thomas Bluett's *Account of Job Ben Solomon*. Job spoke Arabic and was able to write the entire Koran from memory. A part of Bluett's account appears in the Donnan Documents.

¹⁹ Quoted in Donnan. *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 6-8.

²⁰ There are many interesting parallels between slavery in the Roman Empire and in the Western Hemisphere. The Romans claimed that white slaves from certain regions were "a byword for their stupidity" and certain western races were considered especially suited to certain tasks. See Mary L. Gordon, *The Nationality of Slaves Under the Roman Empire*, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 14:93-111.

¹⁶ Speaking of Roman slaves, R. H. Barrow says, "Neither colour nor clothing revealed his condition . . . any real gulf between slave and freed would have divided families. Marriage between slave and free was very common, and relationship between these grades was too manifest to be ignored." *Slavery in the Roman Empire*, p. 170.

¹⁷ An account of this map appears in G. R. Crone's Introduction to his translation of the *Voyage of Cadamosta*. A copy of the Catalan Map appears as a frontispiece to Bovill's *Caravans of the Old Sahara*.

This notion of inferiority was strongly reinforced by a general ignorance of African Negro cultures and by the ethnocentric approach to all cultures. The Europeans who bought slaves on the coast of Africa knew nothing of the people who lived inland. To reach the gold supposed to be in Timbuctu, and possibly to find the legendary Christian prince, Prester John, had been among the goals of Prince Henry in the fifteenth century but no British explorer saw Timbuctu until 1826 and not until 1830 did Europeans finally discover that the Niger was not a branch of the Nile. It was almost another half century before the Congo and the Nile were correctly placed.

To this day one finds the assumption that the Negroes of Africa were always primitive savages, knowing nothing of the arts and having no social organization beyond that of small tribal units. Even American Negroes are usually unaware of the fact that their African ancestors, for the most part, came from a region in which there had been developed complex social and political organizations, elaborate religious rituals, towns in which there were craft guilds with membership handed down from generation to generation, and where gold, bronze, and ivory were fashioned into artistic objects that today grace European museums.²¹

It was to the interest of both the African rulers and the European traders that the latter be kept in ignorance of the interior of the continent. The African rulers were reluctant to lose their positions as middlemen of the slave trade, and as long as they bought their slaves from African slave dealers the Europeans could preserve the fiction that they bought only persons who were already slaves or else criminals or prisoners of war. The Europeans were thus ignorant of the highly developed cultures of the African interior and forgetful of the fact that their own civilization owed its riches not only to Rome, Greece, and Crete, but also to Arabia and China, to Palestine, Persia, Phoenecia, Babylonia, and Egypt. The English became the great slave dealers of the expanding western world. With the trade in men in full swing the Negro came to be known only as a slave and, almost inevitably, he was regarded as suited to his condition.

American Slavery and Race Relations ²²

When we analyze the development of our present social organization we see that the foundation for a race problem was laid by bringing into a dominant white group a vast number of persons who were not only of

a different race but of a different cultural background and social level. Negro slavery was introduced into the Western Hemisphere by the Spaniards who brought with them Christian Negro slaves from the Iberian Peninsula.²³ Early in the sixteenth century Negroes were imported direct from Africa to take the place of the Indians who had proved to be unsatisfactory laborers. By the time the English colonies were settled a hundred years later the slave trade was an enormously profitable enterprise and the pattern of plantation slavery was well established.

The form of slavery in the English continental colonies seems not to have been greatly influenced by the Spanish and Portuguese customs but the notion of slave labor and the availability of African Negroes were important factors in the settling of the colonies. It early became apparent that in a country where land could be had for the asking no free man need work for another. Under such conditions some form of compulsory labor becomes necessary to any extensive development of natural resources.²⁴

All of the colonies experimented with slave labor and in the end it was geographic factors and related economic conditions which determined the nature of the labor supply. White indentured servants were found to be both more suitable and more profitable than slaves in towns and on the small farms in the North where relatively skilled labor was required. In the tobacco and rice fields of the South, and later in the production of sugar and cotton, it was found that unskilled gang labor under the direction of an overseer could be employed more profitably than white labor. In response to these conditions slavery gradually disappeared in the North and became increasingly important in the South.²⁵

When the first Negroes were brought to Virginia they were a relatively small element in the population and they seem to have been sold for a period of years in much the same way that white servants were sold. In any case some of them soon became free and there is a record of one of these Negroes being sued by another who claimed that his colored master was keeping him in bondage longer than the rightful claim allowed. The Negro owner filed a counter suit against a white man involved in the case, and won it, thus giving us the curious circumstance that in one of the first recorded instances of lifetime slavery in the English colonies both master and slave were Negroes.²⁶

²¹ Delafosse. Op. cit.; W.W. Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, R. S. Rattray, *The Ashanti*, and Melville Herskovits' *Dahomey, An Ancient West African Kingdom*.

²² The treatment of American slavery in this section is of necessity very brief. A simple chronological treatment of the Negro in America will be found in the author's *The Story of the American Negro*. A more detailed treatment of slavery will be found in Ulrich Phillips' *American Negro Slavery*. See also Charles S. Johnson's *The Negro in American Civilization*.

²³ Negroes were probably known in the Peninsula from Roman times. They were first carried direct from West Africa by the Portuguese in 1441. From that time on a regular traffic in Negro slaves was carried on by Portugal. See Azurara's *Chronicle of the Conquest of Guinea*, II: 288, 352.

²⁴ In his volume *Slavery as an Industrial System*, H. J. Nieboer points out the connection between the development of a slavery system and "open resources," that is, an unlimited supply of free or cheap land which makes free men unwilling to work for wages.

²⁵ The best account of the relation of geographic and economic factors to the development of American slavery is found in W. E. B. Dubois' *The Suppression of the Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870*.

²⁶ Phillips. Op. cit., p. 75-76.

However, as the Negroes came in increasing numbers their position became standardized and the social system in the slave areas took on the characteristics of a caste structure in which the slave group and the white group developed special intercaste relations which did not disrupt too greatly the general pattern of relations within the white group. As time went on and personal relations developed between individuals of the two groups a mixed blood group emerged, many of whom obtained freedom in one fashion or another. There were also individuals of the Negro group who secured their freedom but the mulattoes seem usually to have had the advantage in this respect. Of course, increasing numbers were born free. The increase in the number of free Negroes did not greatly alter the pattern of dominance and subordination for the freedman was tolerated only so long as he maintained, outwardly at least, the attitude and conduct appropriate to a subordinate status. As the white indentured servant disappeared and the plantation developed, the association of slavery and inferior status with race and color became complete.

Large numbers of persons can be kept in such drastic subordination as slavery in only two ways: Either by superior force or by so conditioning them that they accept their status as inevitable if not natural and right. Usually there is a combination of both methods. In the West Indies where the policy was followed of continued recruiting of slaves from Africa rather than raising slave children on the plantation, the conditioning was far from perfect and the Negroes never accepted their slave status to the degree to which this was accomplished in the slave areas on the continent.²⁷

In order to condition the slave to his subordinate status as well as to train him in his duties there was a definite breaking-in period for the Negroes brought from Africa. They were separated from those who spoke their language and were put with seasoned and adjusted slaves. That this adjustment was a severe one is evidenced by the mortality during the 3-year period usually allowed. A West Indian historian and proprietor said an owner was regarded as fortunate if he lost not more than a third of his slaves during the breaking-in process.²⁸ Those who were born in slavery, as most of the slaves in the American States came to be, were from their infancy taught by precept and example as well as by the collective expectation of their world that their position was ordained of God. The whole social and mental climate was such that most of the slaves acquired the habits and attitudes necessary to survive under such a system.

And as the Negroes were conditioned and adjusted

to their subordinate place in the social order, white persons were likewise trained in the habits and attitudes appropriate to their dominant position. Even though the number of persons who owned slaves was relatively small²⁹ the owners were the dominant social, economic, and political group, and all white persons came to share the mental world in which white people were regarded as belonging to a different order from Negroes. This pattern once established became "right" and each new generation grew up in a world in which the relative status of white and black persons was taken as a matter of course. In such an environment the members of each group were unconsciously, if not deliberately, molded to the appropriate type: the one to rule, the other to serve.

There is no justification for the assumption that the Negro was naturally servile,³⁰ or that his adjustment to slavery was a biological adaptation. African Negroes in their homeland were masters as well as slaves and there is nothing servile about Negroes who have not been subjected to the dominance of others. Moreover, the same type of servility characterized the European serf and the slaves of other races. Such attitudes seem to be a function of continued low status.³¹

However, as each new generation of slaves were brought up in a world in which their subordinate position was taken for granted, it was natural that the servile habits and attitudes thus created should come to be regarded as innate characteristics of the Negro race. It should be remembered that after the system became established both white persons and Negroes were born into a patterned situation which it did not normally occur to them to question.

It is true that the slaves never accepted their position so fully as white people believed, for there were both runaways and insurrections.³² But to suppose that all slaves spent their time wondering how they could get free is to read into the situation the attitudes of persons brought up in a different world. Furthermore, while individual slaves desired their freedom and obtained it wherever possible, they did not usually question the institution of slavery. It was an old institution in Africa before the slave trade to the west began and,

²⁹ At the beginning of the Civil War there were approximately 350,000 families, representing about 1,750,000 individuals, who owned nearly 4,000,000 slaves. There were something like 260,000 free Negroes in the South—a little over half the total number in the country, and roughly 5,000,000 nonslaveholding whites in the Southern States. See Sterling D. Spero, and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker*, p. 3, and U. S. Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 33.

³⁰ The theory of natural servility appears to be a rationalization to justify the enslaving of another people. The early accounts of the slave traders show them to have been in constant fear of insurrection and they found it necessary to guard against slave suicides. So long as new slaves were brought in there was danger of revolt. See accounts of such revolts in Melville Herskovits' *Life in a Haitian Valley*, p. 59.

³¹ An interesting reflection on "natural servility" is found in the description of the Roman attitude toward slaves. The Greeks were deemed "the worst of the lot" and the common people were said to see in them "only a crowd of schemers and parasites, ready to bid for the favor of the rich by adulation and abject servility." They were "cowards, loquacious, inept," and "shameless in their readiness to flatter." The Syrians were said to be "patient as donkeys," and "fit only to be slaves." George La Piana, *Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Century of the Empire* in Harvard Theological Review, 20:183-403.

³² See Harvey Wish's *Slave Disloyalty Under the Confederacy*, The Journal of Negro History, 23:435-50, October 1938.

²⁷ There were other factors which interfered with the conditioning of the slaves in the West Indies but the continued recruiting of adult male Negroes from Africa was among the most important. The slave who was born on the plantation grew up in a world in which his servile condition appeared to be a part of the natural order. See Bryan Edwards' *History of the British West Indies*.

²⁸ See Edward Long's *The History of Jamaica*, II: 435; Edwards. Op. cit., Book 4, ch. 5.

therefore, while some of the Negroes had been slaves in Africa, others, who were kidnaped or taken as war prisoners, had themselves been slave owners in their native land.³³ Later it was not uncommon for free Negroes in America to own slaves.³⁴

However, even the free Negroes were subjected to various restrictions and this treatment was designed to keep intact a social structure in which black persons were supposed to be of a different order from the dominant white group. If the free Negro was lazy, thriftless, and dishonest—as he sometimes was—he was a nuisance and an evidence that every black man needed a master. If he was industrious, thrifty, and honest—as he often was—he was a subtle threat to the existing order in that he demonstrated the capacity of black men to live successfully in other than a slave status.

The stability of any social structure depends on a degree of consensus regarding the appropriateness of the relative positions of persons within the structure. Each position carries with it certain rights and duties which are expressed through the usages appropriate to them. In the mental world of the slave States all slaves were Negroes, and a part of the conditioning of the slave to his status lay in the acceptance by everybody that white and black persons were of a different order. The laws against the manumission of slaves, the requirement that free Negroes live outside the slave States, the laws against teaching slaves to read, and the occupational restrictions on both free Negroes and slaves are to be understood as efforts to preserve a particular type of social structure from the impact of changing social and economic conditions.

From the economic point of view, by the time of the American Revolution slavery had become an anachronism. It no longer fitted into the social and economic world or the intellectual atmosphere of the times. The framers of the Constitution thought that slavery was on its way out and they expected that it would gradually disappear. It was the invention of the cotton gin in connection with other inventions and developments which brought a new economic opportunity demanding a cheap form of gang labor. This development changed slavery from a gradually disappearing patriarchal institution to an industrial system which ruthlessly disregarded the rights of personality and brought forth an increased necessity of finding a justification for a socially outmoded system.

³³ The notion that only the weakest and most servile members of African tribes were enslaved is an erroneous one. The evidence suggests that the slaves represented a fair cross section of the West Coast region. Large numbers were prisoners of war. A valuable collection of such evidence will be found in Elizabeth Donnan's *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America*. See also Melville Herskovits' *A Social History of the American Negro* in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, edited by Carl Murchison.

³⁴ There were 3,777 black masters of slaves in the United States in 1830. In 1860 the free Negroes in New Orleans alone held real estate and slaves variously estimated at from 10 to 15 million dollars. In some cases the buying of slaves by Negroes was "benevolent bondage," that is, they bought wives, children, or other relatives who were slaves. See Abram L. Harris' *The Negro as Capitalist*, p. 4-8.

As the institution of slavery came under attack from without, the consensus which held the system together was threatened. The most passionate avowals of the inferiority of the Negro and the most rigid efforts to keep him inferior by forbidding his education came during this period. Industrial, commercial, economic, and social developments were taking the western world away from slavery toward a more democratic and economically sound social organization. Yet this development was blocked in the South by a system which involved a large population who were biologically so different as to make easy absorption impossible, and who had been kept from full participation in the culture of the dominant group.

In the fighting of the Civil War there was much more involved than the institution of slavery and the question of States' rights. Whether consciously or not, the southerner was fighting to preserve the social structure of the South and a way of life intimately bound with it. Before the war broke no one had been able to suggest any reasonable way by which the slaves might be absorbed into the population as free men. The abolitionists who demanded the immediate freeing of the slaves without compensation to their owners had no constructive suggestions regarding the necessary social and economic adjustment. The Northern States which, as Jefferson said, had been considerable carriers of slaves to others, had no notion of helping solve the problem by welcoming any number of the freed Negroes. Indeed, an increasing number of the Northern States passed laws either forbidding the entrance of the freed Negroes or else providing for discriminatory measures.³⁵ The dislike of slavery did not necessarily mean a liking for Negroes. These facts explain in part the non-slave-holding southerner's participation in the Civil War on the Confederate side.

While the war cut the Gordian knot so far as slavery was concerned, the conflict itself and the Reconstruction enormously increased the problems of adjustment, as they added bitterness, hatred, and economic ruin to the complete disruption of the social structure involved in changing the status of so large an element of the population from that of slaves to free men.³⁶ It must be remembered that had the slaves been white and had they been freed in an orderly manner by consent and compensation to the owners, it would still have taken generations for the freedmen to overcome the handicap of ignorance and the stigma of inferiority, and to achieve a satisfactory economic, educational, and social status.

³⁵ Spero and Harris. *Op. cit.*, p. 11 ff., say that in the North the free Negro workmen were resented even more sharply than in the South, and in various Northern States violent anti-Negro demonstrations took place.

³⁶ For a discussion of the effect of Reconstruction measures on race relations see Guy B. Johnson's *Patterns of Race Conflict in Race Relations and the Race Problem*. Two sharply different points of view regarding the Reconstruction period will be found in Claude Bowers' *The Tragic Era*, and W. E. B. Dubois' *Black Reconstruction*.

The poverty, the economic and social chaos, the bitterness, hate, and frustration incident to war and Reconstruction furnished the social setting in which the Negro began his new life. The handicaps of the Negro masses were great, for slavery had left its imprint in devastating ways. Initiative, independence, and foresight were the last qualities of which a slave had need. There had been little opportunity to learn the use of money or to know the meaning of thrift. The habit of foraging on the plantation for food was carried over, and the notion that all Negroes would "take things" grew into an accepted tradition. Other habits persisted from the time when it was to the slave's interest to tell white men only what it would please them to know. The slave system had prevented the development of stable family life and had relieved parents of the responsibility of their children.³⁷

Many of the habits most damaging to the Negro in his new status had been directly fostered by the slave and plantation system. In some measure his faults were those to be found among any people who are poor, ignorant, and untrained. The tradition grew that these socially produced habits were racial characteristics and the whole of the Negro group was made to carry the stigma of its poorest and weakest members.

The social and economic conditions of the period were such that some new mode of life had to be found whereby the white and Negro people could earn a living. The white landowners were without money to pay wages, and they were in need of labor. The Negroes were generally landless and in need of work. The freeing of the slaves had not changed the basic economic system of the plantation. Thus the adjustment was made whereby the former slave became a tenant. His house, tools, work animals, and even food and clothing were furnished by the planter who often, if not usually, had to borrow money to carry the expenses³⁸ for himself and his tenants until the crop was made.

Thus the Negro's lowly past and the strength of the plantation system combined to continue the poverty and the cultural isolation of the Negro masses. The shadow of the plantation still hangs over the cotton South, and it is in this region that the Negro has advanced least. As a correlative as well as a cause of his backwardness is the belief on the part of many persons that the Negro is biologically unfitted for other than a subordinate role.³⁹

The Biological Factor in Race Relations

The relations of self-conscious groups are complicated, and existing patterns perpetuated, by observable physical differences. Thus what one sociologist has called the "high visibility" of the Negro has served to set him apart and to prevent the gradual absorption of the culturally assimilated members of the group.

It should be remembered that race may be regarded from two different points of view: The biological and the sociological. In the biological sense a race refers to a population having distinctive physical characteristics which are passed on from one generation to another through biological inheritance, and by which that population may be distinguished from other populations having a different combination of distinctive physical characteristics. Race in this sense has nothing to do with language, nationality, or those habits and customs which make up the various cultures of the world. In the sociological sense, a race is any self-conscious group of people who regard themselves as a race and who are so regarded by others. They may, or may not, be a race in the biological sense. The term "race relations" refers to race in the sociological sense. Sociological race characteristics are acquired; the physical or biological characteristics are inborn.

We do not know how the biological divisions of mankind arose but a possible theory is that racial characteristics are the result of mutations which become established in a population through isolation and inbreeding. Climate and other environmental factors may have had something to do with the mutations or with the survival, through natural selection, of given physical traits, but these are subjects of which too little is known for positive statements to be made. Neither is it possible to make an arbitrary classification of races, for the migration of peoples and the mixture of various groups have gone on for so long that with the possible exception of certain small and isolated groups there are no "pure" races. We can easily distinguish a blond Norwegian, a Congo Negro, and a Chinese as belonging to the great divisions of the Caucasoids, the Negroids, and the Mongoloids, but there are numerous peoples who do not fit into any of these classifications, and the variations in any one of these groups are very wide.

There are peoples in Africa with very dark skin whose hair and features could pass as Caucasian, while other lighter skinned peoples have frizzly hair and Negroid features. The Hindus of India are classed as Caucasians yet many of them are much darker than numerous American Negroes. In old-fashioned geography books the "typical" Negro had a low brow, frizzly hair, coal black skin, thick, everted lips, and a protruding jaw, while the Caucasian was blond and blue-eyed, with a high forehead and a "classical nose."

³⁷ The problems of the newly freed population are vividly portrayed in Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery*. For the problems of group adjustment see Ray Stannard Baker's *Following the Color Line*. There is valuable material also in A. A. Mayo's *Southern Women in the Recent Educational Movement in the South* and in Edgar W. Knight's *Public Education in the South*.

³⁸ See *The Plantation: The Physical Basis of Traditional Race Relations*, in *Race Relations and the Race Problems*, edited by Edgar T. Thompson.

³⁹ For a description of one such isolated area see Charles S. Johnson's *Shadow of the Plantation*. See also Arthur Raper's *Preface to Peasantry*.

Actually these extreme types represent only a minority of either group, the extreme Negroid type being as rare among Negroes as the idealized blond Nordic type is among Caucasians. The less extreme types do not necessarily suggest race mixture. It is rather more probable that instead of being "typical" the more striking forms in each case represent extreme specialization. There are, of course, persons of intermediate type who are the product of the mixture of Caucasian and Negro peoples.

In this connection it is significant to note that the persons of mixed blood are classified differently in different parts of the world. In most Latin American and Mediterranean countries mulattoes or mixed bloods are regarded as belonging to the race they most nearly approximate in physical appearance. In South Africa, the mixed bloods who are called "coloured" form a separate group midway between the whites and the native blacks; while in the United States any person known to have Negro blood is classed as a Negro regardless of how white he may appear.

It is thus obvious that a light mulatto may be biologically more white than Negro. In certain parts of the world he would be regarded as a white person and would thus be both biologically and sociologically white. In the United States, he would be biologically more white than Negro but sociologically he is a Negro, that is, he regards himself as a Negro and other persons so regard him. Therefore he feels and acts as a Negro and other persons feel and act toward him as they do toward Negroes. This same person had he been born in South America would feel, act, and be treated as a white person. The point of this discussion is that actual or assumed biological differences in races seem to be important in race relations primarily because of the way such differences are regarded by the groups in question.

An example of the sociological significance of assumed biological differences is found in the Nazi attitude toward the Jews. The Nazi-Jewish relations have all the characteristics of a race problem because the Nazis and many of the Jews regard themselves as being of different races. In reality, the Jews do not constitute a separate race in the biological sense and German Jews differ from other Germans primarily in characteristics which are religious and social rather than physical. The term Aryan properly refers to a linguistic rather than a biological group and even if we equate Aryan with Nordic we find that only a small percent of the Germans are of the blond Nordic type. However, as long as Nazis and Jews regard themselves as belonging to different races their relations will have the characteristics of race relations.

In groups of obviously different physical appearance the biological characters serve as badges to distinguish the members of the social groups and the biological factor may then become important in that the members

of each group are inescapably labeled. That the biological factor does not necessarily affect group relations is, of course, evidenced by the fact that where integration does not follow racial lines physical differences are subordinated to other factors such as education, economic status, or cultural assimilation.

One of the most important elements in the race relations pattern is the assumption that observable physical differences are correlated with mental ability and personality traits.⁴⁰ Given the history of relations between the white and Negro groups it was perhaps inevitable that the Negro's low cultural and economic status should be attributed to racial inferiority. The notion that inferior status means inferior ability is commonly used as a justification for denying opportunities to underprivileged groups and observable biological differences render the assumption particularly plausible.

Having developed a social structure of dominance and subordination controlled by social usages and supported by various beliefs, rituals, and customs, each succeeding generation tends to accept the established pattern of behavior as a part of its social heritage. Viewing life from different positions in the social structure, and subjected to different kinds of social pressure and to a collective expectation that each shall fit into the traditional racial pattern, white and colored children develop different personality traits which are then supposed to be evidence of inborn racial differences.

In view of the popular misconceptions regarding race, and the emphasis given the subject by the race propaganda from Central Europe, it is perhaps necessary to deal with this question at some length. If there is any factual basis for the notion that there are certain races which are innately inferior to other races then the assigning of the inferior group to a subordinate position may be both logical and reasonable and perhaps can be justified as being for the common good.

It should be remembered that this is the race theory by which Nazi Germany sought to justify her treatment of the Jews and the use of Poles and Czechs in forced labor battalions. The Nazi race program is based on the theory that races can be rated according to their superior and inferior qualities; that the so-called Aryan⁴¹ race is the highest in the scale and that the Germans are the finest manifestation of the Aryan spirit. Non-Aryans are useful only to the extent that they serve Aryans, and any measures are justified which keep Aryans from contamination by mixture with non-Aryans, and almost any treatment of non-Aryans is justified as long as it serves the ends of the superior

⁴⁰ For a treatment of the problem of heredity, including a chapter on race and one on intelligence tests, see Amram Scheinfeld, *You and Heredity*.

⁴¹ The Aryan race is a myth, not a reality. The term Aryan properly refers only to a group of languages. No one knows what the original Aryan speakers looked like. See Carleton Coon's *The Races of Europe*. Boas says, "The idea of the great blond Aryan, the leader of mankind, is the result of self-admiration that emotional thinkers have tried to sustain by imaginative reasoning. It has no foundation in observed fact." *Anthropology and Modern Life*, p. 80.

Aryan group. Stated thus bluntly and concretely the doctrine of superior and inferior races appears as non-rational as does its manifestation in Central Europe where the result has been the expulsion of distinguished Jewish intellectuals, the abolishing of Polish and Czech universities, and the reduction of educated Slavic peoples to a status not far removed from slavery.

The Nazi pattern is an extreme one in that the "races" are all white and many of the members of so-called inferior races were persons of demonstrated intellectual superiority. No reputable anthropologist outside the totalitarian states takes seriously the race theories on which the Nazi program is based, but the consequences of the program are serious enough. Not only have countless persons of unusual ability been destroyed, but various professions and even the right to study in the universities have been forbidden to the so-called non-Aryans. The acceptance of race rather than individual capacity as a criterion robbed Germany of such men as Freud and Einstein and numerous other superior persons.

However, many persons who would not concede the Nazi theory of superior and inferior subraces within the white race still hold to the belief that the white race as a whole is superior to the colored races. Generally the races are arranged in a hierarchy with the white race on top, the Negroid races at the bottom and the Mongoloid peoples in an intermediate position. The argument for this hierarchy of races takes various forms. Chief among these forms are the following: The darker races are culturally inferior and this cultural inferiority is an evidence of race inferiority; the darker races have smaller and less complex brains and are therefore incapable of the highest intellectual achievement; intelligence tests show the darker races inferior to the white race. There has also been an argument against race mixture based on the theory that biologically stabilized types which varied greatly one from the other would when crossed produce a disharmonic offspring. It is further held that such crossings produce unstable personalities, and many persons believe that mixed bloods always inherit the worst from both parent stocks.

It should be noted that all these theories except that of the disharmonic crossings are highly ethnocentric ones. They are based on the tacit assumption that the white race represents the highest physical, intellectual, and cultural development, and therefore variations from the white norm must indicate inferiority, and, logically then, the greater the variation the more inferior the type. An increasing objectivity on the part of scientific investigators in recent years has demonstrated that a great deal of wishful thinking, racial bias, and tacit assumption have gone into the arguments for racial inferiority. Anthropologists outside the totalitarian states are now almost unanimous in saying that while there are undoubted biological differences in

widely separated racial groups we have as yet no scientific proof that these observable differences are associated with any particular type or quality of ability, or if such associations do exist that they necessarily mean that one is inferior to another. In this connection Professor Boas says, "If we were to select the most intelligent, imaginative, energetic, and emotionally stable third of mankind, all races would be represented. The mere fact that a person is a healthy European, or a blond European would not be proof that he would belong to this elite."⁴²

Most of the supposed association of physical type with mental ability or personality traits is found to be based on subjective rather than scientific reasoning.⁴³ For example, the "adventurous Nordics" often turn out to be anything but the Nordic type, and it has already been pointed out that "naturally servile" Negroes prove to be quite proud and independent when not brought into positions of inferiority. This does not mean that genetic differences in physical type do not exist; or that there may not be differences in the psychical characters of widely separated groups. It does mean that there is no evidence of any significant correlation one with the other, that is that any special skin color or features go with any special type of mentality.

Prof. Franz Boas, dean of American anthropologists, has spent a lifetime in the study of racial problems. In 1911 he published a book called *The Mind of Primitive Man* in which he stated that while we could not say positively that there were no superior and inferior races we could and must say that the theory of racial inferiority was not proved. In 1938 Professor Boas issued a revised edition of his book⁴⁴ in which he states that the investigations and developments of the past 25 years enable the anthropologist to speak much more positively on the subject. The following discussion of popular racial theories is based largely on the material of Boas and on the volume *We Europeans* by Professors Huxley and Haddon.

The argument that the white race is biologically superior because of its superior accomplishments is valid only if the various races have had equal opportunities. The mere fact that the centers of civilization have at different times been in different places and developed by different peoples should make us extremely cautious in attributing to race the determining factor. As Boas points out, man is very old and as culture history goes, a thousand years is a brief period. If cultural achievement is our criterion we must ask not only what opportunities a given people have had but at

⁴² Boas, Franz. *Anthropology and Modern Life*, p. 75.

⁴³ In their volume *We Europeans* Profs. Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon say "on the general questions of the correlation of psychological characters and 'race,' we must say at once that there is at present simply no evidence worthy of being called scientific which is capable of demonstrating such a relation," p. 49. Professor Haddon was a distinguished British anthropologist; Professor Huxley is a distinguished British biologist.

⁴⁴ Boas, Franz. *The Mind of Primitive Man*. Rev. ed.

what period they are to be judged. If we take 3000 B. C. as the period, we find North Europeans completely unknown and the highly developed peoples are to be found in Egypt, Babylonia, and the Indus valley. If we move to 1500 B. C. we find the Cretans in their glory with the Greeks still primitive. A thousand years later Greece was in her golden age but in another five hundred years the now dominant Romans were purchasing Greek slaves as servants and as teachers for their children. At the beginning of the Christian era the civilized Romans wrote scornful descriptions of the heathen Britons; descriptions which can be matched almost word for word with those which the Britons, fifteen hundred years later, wrote of the heathen Africans.

Moreover, if race were the determining factor in culture we should expect to find greater uniformity of cultural achievement within the racial divisions. The American Indians supply a good example. At the time of the conquest of the New World the Aztecs and Incas, and before them the Pre-Incas and the Mayas, had achieved very high cultures. Certain other American Indians of the same basic racial stock were still living on a very primitive level. There was a greater cultural gap between the highest and lowest Indian cultures than between the Aztecs and the Spanish. The same kind of situation prevailed in Africa. The highly developed Negro cultures were closer to the Europeans than to the lowest African peoples.

A further fact is that what we know as Western European civilization, which of course includes our own, is in the direct line of cultural inheritance from the Mediterranean area which in turn was stimulated by, and borrowed from, the Orient. All civilization is based on certain fundamental discoveries and inventions such as the domestication of plants and animals, the wheel, pottery, the use of metals, and writing. The Americas had practically no animals suited for domestication and both the Americas and Negro Africa were largely shut off by natural barriers from free contact with and consequent stimulation by other peoples.⁴⁵ The stretch of subtropical region from the Mediterranean to China furnished a series of particularly favorable "cradles" for cultural beginnings and growth. Through borrowing and interstimulation rich cultures were developed, and the foundations of our civilization rest on this broad base.

It is frequently said that the highly developed Negro cultures of West Africa and the Sudan were "borrowed" or developed only after contact with the Arabs. Maurice Delafosse in his *Negroes of Africa* points out

that some of the great Negro empires developed either before or outside of the Arabs' influence. Furthermore, exactly the same kind of criticism could be made of North Europe. We sometimes forget that writing came to us from the Egyptians, the alphabet probably from the Phoenicians, our so-called Arabic numerals from India by way of the Arabs; silk, porcelain, gun powder, the compass, and printing from China.⁴⁶

The culturally backward peoples are usually those who have been shut off from the stimulation of contact. We have no right to assign race as a cause either of cultural advancement or of retardation until cultural factors themselves have been eliminated as possible causes. It is, to say the least, slightly ethnocentric to make the judgment by Western standards of value at the period when, according to these standards, Western civilization is the most advanced. Moreover, Europeans have had their world supremacy for only a few hundred years out of man's more than four thousand years of recorded history.⁴⁷

Another common argument for racial inferiority is based on the theory that Negroes have smaller and less complex brains than white persons, and that different portions of the brain are developed in different races. In this area it is again clear that a great deal of racial bias and wishful thinking have distorted the picture. Generally speaking, experimenters have found that the brains of white persons weighed more both absolutely and relatively (to body weight) than those of Negroes. However, this has not been true of every series and it is not at all certain that a selective factor was not present. Moreover, even if it is true that the average brain weight of white persons exceeds the average for Negroes, the fact would still remain that many Negroes have larger brains than many white persons. Furthermore the significance of brain weight is by no means established. Some Cro-Magnon skulls of 20,000 years ago indicate larger brain cases than the average for modern Europeans, and certain Eskimos and at least one African group exceeded the European average.⁴⁸

Studies on the structure of the brain have been equally inconclusive. Boas states that "notwithstanding the numerous attempts that have been made to

⁴⁵ Kroeber, A. L. *Anthropology*, ch. XV.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the natural obstacles to cultural advance in aboriginal America see *North America* by J. Russell Smith and M. Ogden Phillips. For an equally good discussion of similar obstacles in Negro Africa see Walter Fitzgerald's *Africa—A Social, Economic, and Political Geography of its Major Regions*.

⁴⁷ Cultures tend to elaborate along certain lines. When elaboration of certain patterns is carried too far without the development of checks and balances of some kind the result may be disastrous. There is some suggestion that this kind of over-elaboration took place among the Aztec and in certain West African groups with regard to religious practices involving human sacrifice. We appear to have elaborated our civilization along the line of mechanical development until we have mechanized ourselves out on a limb. That is, we have developed the material aspects of our culture beyond the point at which our less highly developed social techniques can keep them in control. Specifically, we have developed our means of communication until the world has been brought into an interrelated economic unit but we have no social techniques adequate for a world society.

⁴⁸ Klineberg, Otto. *Racial differences*, p. 88; Boas, Franz. *Anthropology and modern life*, p. 39-40.

find structural differences between the brains of different races of man that could be directly interpreted in psychological terms, no conclusive results of any kind have been attained."⁴⁹

The most recent device used in the attempt to measure racial differences is the intelligence test. These tests were first widely used as Army tests in 1918 and since that time the popular notion has prevailed that they demonstrated the racial inferiority of the Negro. It has been generally overlooked that while white subjects as a whole averaged higher than Negroes as a whole, it is also true that northerners averaged higher than southerners, urban subjects higher than rural subjects, and Negroes of certain northern States averaged higher than white men of certain southern States.⁵⁰ Moreover, it is now generally agreed by psychologists that these Army tests were designed not to test intelligence so much as to test fitness for certain positions in the Army. The effect of the environment was not ruled out, and the element of bias was by no means eliminated.

In recent years as the testers have become more objective, the results have shown less and less differences that might be called racial.⁵¹ Otto Klineberg carried out a number of experiments on northern and southern Negro children. He found that the children's scores showed a negligible correlation with the apparent degree of white blood but the length of residence in New York and the consequent improvement in environment did make significant differences in the scores of children from the South.⁵² Another interesting aspect of the subject lies in the fact that in recent tests at least one colored child has been found with an intelligence quotient of 200 while any number of Negro children showed scores ranging from 140 to 170.⁵³ It is also significant to note that the differences within the white and the Negro groups are greater than the differences between the two groups, and that regional differences are as great or greater than racial ones.

There are other factors which must be taken into consideration in evaluating the results of the intelligence tests. No one seriously claims that environmental factors have been entirely eliminated. The Negro

child, particularly in the areas in which separate schools are required, is usually handicapped not only by inferior educational opportunities but by other limitations as well. Poor health, inadequate nutrition, and limited cultural opportunities hold back the Negro child's development.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the limitation of vocational opportunity dulls ambition, and the collective expectation of his world is that he will be able to achieve less than his white neighbor. We have no way of measuring the deadening and inhibiting effect of the stigma of inferiority, but anyone who has had experience with children knows something of what the feeling of inferiority can do to personality.

Perhaps the most conclusive answer to the question of racial inferiority is being given by those Negroes who in spite of the handicaps of their social and economic status are demonstrating ability of a high order. The writers who less than a hundred years ago said they would believe the Negro entitled to an education when they found one who could conjugate a Greek verb would now find themselves confronted with the fact that in 1940 more than 40,000 Negroes were enrolled in Negro colleges, and during the year 1939-40 more than 5,000 Negroes received college degrees.⁵⁵ Negroes are among the honor graduates and holders of Phi Beta Kappa keys in mixed schools, and increasingly they take their places as competent members of the various professions.

As to the theories of disharmonic crossings and the inferiority of mixed bloods, these, too, are yielding to evidence that cannot be set aside. There is no way of knowing the exact number of American Negroes who have some degree of white blood but Professor Herskovits estimates that approximately 80 percent show evidence of some race mixture and even more conservative estimates are seldom placed at less than 50 percent. Among those mixed bloods are to be found a fairly large percent of the most advanced members of the Negro group. The instability sometimes shown by mixed bloods is now generally accounted for not by the biological mixture but by what is called their marginal status, that is, their position between two social worlds which tends to create difficult problems of social adjustment.⁵⁶ On the other hand the disproportionate number of mulattoes in the intellectual classes may be accounted for by the fact that even in the period of slavery mulattoes usually had, as they still do have, greater opportunities for advancement

⁴⁹ Boas, Franz. *The Mind of Primitive Man*. 1938 ed. p. 105.

⁵⁰ The results of these various tests are summarized in Otto Klineberg's *Race Differences*, p. 182 ff.

⁵¹ Huxley and Haddon say "Until we have invented a method for distinguishing the effects of social environment from those of genetic constitution, we shall be wholly unable to say anything of the least scientific value on such vital topics as the possible genetic differences in intelligence, initiative, and aptitude which may distinguish different human groups." *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁵² These experiments are reported in Otto Klineberg's *Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration*. Herskovits found that while mulattoes generally enjoyed superior economic and social advantages, there was no relationship between the amount of race mixture as measured by Negroid physical traits and the study of the individual in the intelligence tests which determined his fitness for a college career. *The American Negro*. p. 59.

⁵³ A summary of the findings of various tests will be found in Martin D. Jenkins' *The Mental Ability of the American Negro*. *The Journal of Negro Education*, vol. VIII, No. 3, July 1939.

⁵⁴ Lorimer and Osborn say: "It is important to recognize at the start that 'intelligence' as measured by mental tests is something far more fundamental than mere accumulation of information, but nevertheless something that is, in part, the product of environmental forces, and that can only be measured through the median of responses that have been in part socially conditioned." *Dynamics of Population*, p. 143.

⁵⁵ See Martin D. Jenkins, *Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education of Negroes, 1940-41*, in *Journal of Negro Education*, 10:718-25. These figures do not include Negroes in Northern institutions.

⁵⁶ Prof. Robert E. Park has called these persons who are a part of two worlds "marginal men." See Everett V. Stonequist's *The Marginal Man*.

than the majority of the darker Negroes. Moreover anthropologists have studied racially mixed groups in various parts of the world and they find nothing to support the theory that the so-called disharmonic crossings between races produce biologically inferior or unstable persons. Studies of the descendants of Boers and Hottentots in South Africa and of the inbred offspring of the British sailors of the *Bounty* and Polynesian women on Pitcairn Island show perfectly healthy, mentally competent, and stable persons.⁵⁷

There is perhaps one further word that needs to be said. Whenever any suggestion is made concerning a larger participation of Negroes in American life there are some persons who express the fear that such participation will lead to intermarriage. Since most Americans wish to be fair-minded, and educated people wish to face facts with reason rather than emotion, an analysis of the situation may be helpful.

In the first place it is necessary to distinguish between race mixture and inter-racial marriage. Race mixture has gone on in America for 300 years. Only an infinitesimal amount of this race mixture has taken place through intermarriage. As the Negro group advances in education and self-respect—in short, as Negroes become culturally assimilated—race mixture outside of marriage tends to decrease. Except in the very early periods of slavery such mixture in this country has always been, almost exclusively, due to relations between white men and colored women. As the Negro family has become more stable, and as an educated Negro group has emerged, the relationships of this type have become more and more limited to women of the lowest class of the Negro group. Anthropologists studying southern communities found that Negroes themselves immediately placed as lower class any colored woman who had intimate relations with a white man.⁵⁸

As far as inter-racial marriages are concerned, they seldom take place even in those areas where they are permitted. Many Negroes oppose laws against intermarriage primarily because such laws carry an implication of racial inferiority; they usually object almost as strenuously as white people when mixed marriages do occur. These facts suggest that the advancement of the Negro group will tend to decrease rather than to increase race mixture. Moreover, since almost all race mixture has taken place outside of marriage, the function of the taboo against inter-racial marriage is not to

prevent race mixture but to preserve status. By preventing legal marriage and by assigning persons of mixed blood to the Negro group the dominant white group has maintained its upper caste position and has thereby preserved its cultural homogeneity and the stability of its social structure.

When a large group of persons of an alien culture are brought into a society one of two things can happen. They can be allowed to mix freely and on a basis of equality with the initially resident group. In this case there will inevitably be cultural and social disorganization because there is a limit to the speed and the degree in which cultural assimilation can take place. If the incoming group are of a less developed culture or a lower social level, cultural deterioration will follow, that is, the cultural level of the total group will be lowered.⁵⁹ The second possible procedure, and the one which was followed in this country, is to assign the alien group to an inferior status and by various regulations keep the two groups separate. Biological mixture of the men of the dominant group with women of the subordinate group is not prevented, but the offspring of such unions are assigned to the status of the inferior group. The strictures against similar relations between the women of the dominant group and the men of the subordinate group are always extremely rigid, for only by this means can the caste lines be preserved.

When the dominant and subordinate groups are not biologically distinguishable, individuals who become culturally assimilated can escape from the subordinate group and their origin be forgotten. This is what tends to happen when masters and slaves are of the same race and caste lines are then difficult to preserve.⁶⁰ Where the groups are biologically distinguishable the caste lines can be kept and the culturally assimilated individual cannot escape his low caste position.

From the standpoint of the preservation of the dominant culture the segregation of races and the various taboos, including the myth of biological inferiority, which support the caste structure, were social-cultural necessities during the slavery period, and the segregation pattern, reintroduced after Reconstruction, served the same purpose. That is, they were social-cultural necessities if social disorganization and a cultural deterioration were not to follow. No society could have assimilated so large a group of alien culture without disorganization.

⁵⁷ The Boer-Hottentot study was made by Eugene Fischer. The Pitcairn Island study is found in H. L. Shapiro's *Heritage of the Bounty*. See also Franz Boas' *Race, Language, and Culture*.

⁵⁸ Studies of this sort include John Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*; and Hortense Powdermaker's *After Freedom*. In *Children of Bondage* (p. 52) Davis and Dollard report that even lower class Negroes tended to ostracize colored women who had intimate relations with white men. The studies of American Negroes made by Professor Herskovits, led him to the conclusion that there was a progressive lessening of the intermixture with the white as well as the Indian population. See *The American Negro*, p. 30.

⁵⁹ This is essentially what happened in the Roman Empire when vast numbers of slaves taken as war captives were brought in to the society. Practically all these slaves were white and as they gained freedom in large numbers they were absorbed into the free population more rapidly than they could be culturally assimilated. See Mary L. Gordon, *The Nationality of Slaves Under the Roman Empire* in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 14:93-111.

⁶⁰ This generalization holds true for Negro Africa in which both masters and slaves were Negroes as well as in situations where both were white as in Rome. Rattray points out this fact concerning West Africa in his books *The Ashanti*, and *Ashanti Law and Constitution*.

It should be understood that it is the sociological situation which produces the social disorganization. It is because peoples of different racial backgrounds usually have different cultural backgrounds also that race mixture appears to cause social disorganization. It is the alien culture, not the alien genes, that causes the strain. As Huxley and Haddon point out: "There is a limit to the amount of foreign stock which can be taken up by a nation in a given time. This is not due to the quantity of foreign genes per se, but to the mass of alien habits, prejudices, ideas, and resistance which have to be overcome and assimilated."⁶¹

To recognize that the valid arguments against interracial marriages are social-cultural and not biological ones is to clear the ground at two points. In the first place it appears that there is no threat of biological deterioration of the American people due to the presence of the Negro. In the second place there are now large numbers of culturally assimilated Negroes who are shut off from a normal participation in and contribution to American life due, in part, to an assumed biological inferiority. Granting the social-cultural necessity of a caste structure during and subsequent to the period of slavery, we are now no longer in danger of being culturally swamped by unassimilated Negroes. The question now facing us is whether, as a Nation, we can afford to deprive ourselves of the contribution of the culturally assimilated members of the Negro group.

Race Relations in the American Social Order

In the previous sections of this publication an effort was made to show that our present American race relations can be understood only in terms of the historical and sociological framework within which they operate. The biological factor in race relations now appears to be important when, and because, it is assumed to be significant.

The development of a caste system in slavery and the effort to keep the Negro in a semi-caste state by assigning mixed bloods to the Negro group and demanding caste etiquette in relations between the races have served to preserve the cultural homogeneity and standards of the dominant group. The physical differences in the two groups have aided in keeping intact the caste lines, and thus the educated and culturally assimilated Negro remains within the subordinate group.

Keeping the Negro in the slave status allowed the importation of large numbers of an alien population without social disorganization or cultural deterioration of the owning class. Since the abolition of slavery the color line has served the same purpose. But these practices have not been without serious social and economic consequences, for the low social, economic,

and cultural level of the Negro has served as a drag on the entire region in which he lives, and indirectly on the Nation as a whole.

Moreover, it must be remembered that race relations do not operate in a vacuum. They are an integral part of the social structure and like the rest of the structure they root deep in the past. Racial relationships, habits, and attitudes are a part of the total complex of inter-relationships, and race relations cannot be abstracted from this whole. It is impossible to make any changes in the race relations pattern without also making changes in the rest of the social structure, and it is likewise true that changes in the structure affect the race relations.

The fact that we are in the midst of fast moving political, economic, and social changes indicates that it is a particularly opportune time to reconsider the position of the Negro in the American social order. Within the Nation we are confronted with acute social and economic problems which affect the whole of the American people. If we attempt to fix the race relations pattern on any sort of static basis and artificially limit the opportunity of any portion of our population we should not delude ourselves into thinking that we shall escape the social cost of such a procedure.

Furthermore, the social and economic problems within America are interwoven not only with world-wide socio-economic disturbances but with their political ramifications. We have contended for the superiority of a democratic form of government and what we like to call the American way of life. We should now recognize the fact that our position is weakened to the extent to which we consider it necessary or expedient to exclude any portion of our population from participation in the democratic process. Moreover, if Negroes remain in a subordinate status with the assumption of inferiority and the limitation of opportunity which such a status implies, there will be a corresponding limitation in their potential contribution to the Nation.

Essentially the situation is that the Negro in the United States has developed more rapidly than his opportunities for participation in American life have widened. As this development has not been uniform there have grown up class divisions within the Negro group while something akin to a caste division has continued to separate the two races. In the slavery period the structural pattern had many of the characteristics of a caste situation.

As the Negroes have developed since slavery and as class divisions have appeared in the Negro group, Negroes in America now occupy positions with reference to both a class and a caste structure. Thus a white person is always upper caste, but may be upper, lower, or middle class within that caste. A Negro is always lower caste but may be upper, lower, or middle class within the caste. Thus an upper class Negro may be superior in education, economic status, and general

¹ Op. cit., p. 232.

refinement of manners to lower class white persons, but because of the color line, he is subjected to various artificial limitations.⁶²

This analysis should not be carried too far and it is significant chiefly, perhaps, in that it suggests that the old lower class, lower caste grouping of Negroes no longer fits the case. The differences within the Negro group are very great and to assume that all Negroes are of the same class is completely to ignore the realities of the situation. The caste situation itself is a somewhat fluid one, and there is evidence that class lines are in some cases overriding caste. This is particularly the case on certain levels. White and Negro educators, ministers, and social workers increasingly tend to overlook racial lines in facing common problems. Sharecroppers in the South and industrial workers in various areas are likewise finding a common cause in their economic and social disadvantages.

It is increasingly apparent that this whole problem of American race relations is a national as well as a sectional concern. Negroes have moved North in large numbers, and many of the problems which were once supposed to be limited to the South have appeared in northern areas. Segregation and discrimination in custom, if not in law, have followed the Negro and in the entire Nation there is no place in which he can be wholly secure from the blight of the color line.

Mobility and economic inter-relations are such that a low educational and cultural level in one part of the country is of immediate and practical concern to the whole Nation. The South has not only the lowest per capita wealth in the Nation but an even smaller per capita wealth per educable child, due to the fact that it is the region in which there is least wealth combined with the highest birth rate. Thus the part of the country with the least wealth has the largest number of children to educate, and it is this economically and educationally handicapped region which is furnishing more than its share of the Nation's population, white and colored.

The question of education for southern children and youth, black and white, is only one aspect of the problem calling for national concern. The plight of white and colored sharecroppers, the ignorance and poverty of the Negro masses, the low economic and educational levels of both whites and Negroes in certain backward areas, and the high death and crime rates in parts of the South, are only a few of the problems which are the concern of all our people.

In the search for a constructive approach one is confronted with the fact that the problem must be faced from both sides of the color line, and that it must be faced as an American problem. When white persons

regard Negroes as "the problem" and Negroes think the only problem they face is that of getting their rights as a race, there is little hope of progress toward meeting fundamental American needs.

Actually, the basis of the present situation was laid long ago by people, North and South, who were concerned with their own social and economic problems. Today the situation is essentially a struggle for status and economic advantage on the part of biologically distinguishable and self-conscious groups who find themselves occupying the same territory. Neither white persons nor Negroes now living are responsible for this basic fact or for the long social and economic history which makes the problem what it is. Physical appearances, differences in educational and cultural levels, and a long chain of history form the background of attitudes, antipathies, and prejudices.

White persons brought up with the belief that the Negro is biologically as well as socially inferior have been concerned with keeping him "in his place," and an elaborate ritual is involved in the etiquette which serves this end.⁶³ The result has been inefficiency and low standards for all, with the weaker group the more disadvantaged. In many cases libraries, museums, art galleries, parks, and theaters are entirely closed to the Negro group or else open only under such conditions that many self-respecting Negroes refuse to use them. While the masses of underprivileged Negroes accept these conditions as more or less inevitable, the articulate Negro has been keenly concerned in getting more nearly his fair share of goods and services.

In this struggle Negroes have taken various points of view.⁶⁴ One group, opposing segregation in any form, refuses to sanction separate schools, hospitals, or churches on the basis that separate institutions and services foster segregation and postpone full integration into American life.⁶⁵ Another group, while objecting to forcible segregation, would foster what is called compensatory segregation. Knowing that the complete integration of Negroes into American life is not immediately attainable they would build the best segregated institutions possible, not only to meet the immediate needs of Negroes but also because at present this is the only way in which Negro lawyers, doctors, nurses, teachers, and ministers can carry on their professions.

At present the Negro finds himself living at a point of tension between these two positions. In parts of the country he cannot hope for other than segregated serv-

⁶² For a discussion of this etiquette see Bertram W. Doyle's *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South*.

⁶⁴ James Weldon Johnson in his *Negro Americans, What Now?* summarizes and discusses these various points of view.

⁶⁵ The term integration is defined as the uniting of a part or element with something more inclusive, as a local government is integrated with a general government. Integration implies participation and should not be confused with amalgamation or race mixture.

⁶³ For a discussion of caste and class in the American race pattern see W. Lloyd Warner's *Caste and Class in the American Journal of Sociology*. XLII, September, 1936. See also Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*.

ices and he has difficulty in getting even such poor services as these usually are. He obviously gains in trying to get the best possible segregated services for he thereby lifts the cultural and educational level of his group. On the other hand, the segregated services are almost invariably inferior ones and he makes progress when he can gain admission to institutions or access to services on a nonsegregated basis; though if the gates do not open all the way he may find his progress blocked; that is, he may find that he is permitted to prepare himself for positions which are closed to him.

Negroes find that two types of economic opportunity are open to them. They may find their places in the white occupational world; that is, they may get jobs in white industries but there is almost invariably a definite limitation to the lower rounds of the occupational ladder. And, of course, the low occupational status carries a correspondingly low income. Within the segregated Negro world the gamut of occupational opportunity is wider. However, these occupations usually do not carry an economic status equivalent to that of the corresponding occupations in the white world since the financial success of Negro business and professional enterprises is limited by the low income level of their potential customers and clients.

There are other social and economic consequences for the minority group, and indirectly for the total group, inherent in the segregation of a portion of the population. Aside from the fact that a segregated economy helps to hold the Negro to a low income status, there are important consequences for personality and personal achievement apart from the fact of limited occupational opportunity. Not only do inferior schools and the exclusion from many cultural offerings of the community limit personality development but the facts of separateness and exclusion in themselves are felt to carry an implication of inferiority. Shut off in his separate and inferior world the Negro is in the community but not of it. The social cost of this exclusion will perhaps be more apparent if it is pointed out that the dominant group sets up for itself a set of values and goals which are entirely different from the values and goals which it deems appropriate for the minority group.

Persons are brought to an appreciation of values and a striving toward goals by the rewards of prestige and approval which are attached to the acceptance of the values and the achievement of the goals. Our school curricula are designed to win approval for the values of our society, and the advertisements in magazines and newspapers, the news stories, and the offerings of cinema and radio all set up and make attractive the patterns, habits, and objects which represent values and goals of the dominant group.⁶⁶

The Negro is exposed to this education and propaganda designed to win acceptance of the values and

goals of the white world. Yet he is not only denied the goals but in many cases is condemned for accepting for himself the values. To illustrate, the Negro child uses the same textbooks, he reads the same stories, and hears the same radio programs as the white child. The virtues of independence, ambition, courage, and patriotism are set forth. The duties of citizenship and community responsibility are emphasized. Social mobility and the any-boy-may-succeed philosophy are inherent in our social patterns. Yet the Negro who exhibits in his conduct his acceptance of these values and goals for himself will in many communities experience disapproval if not punishment by the dominant group.

The political and community participation which the textbooks define as a duty become a serious violation of the *mores* when attempted by Negroes. The ambition and will-to-succeed pattern which is socially approved for the white child is not only frowned upon but prohibited to Negroes in communities in which most of them live. The Negro thus lives in a society in which the values of the dominant group are constantly before him yet society itself penalizes him when he strives toward the goals it sets. The virtues of the master are the vices of the slave and this pattern still governs the thinking and conduct of a large portion of the American people.⁶⁷

This limitation of social mobility, the lack of community participation, and the release from the obligations and responsibilities of citizenship, the frustration growing out of the conflict in desired and permitted goals, not only affect adversely the Negro's personality and behavior but may have serious consequences for the total society. The "equal but separate" school might, if achieved, overcome many educational handicaps which now affect the Negro. But the real problem is that of the Negro's freedom to incorporate in his own life and conduct the values and goals of American life. However much his separate schools are improved, and such improvement is highly important, only the fringe of the problem is touched. The Negro's greatest handicap and one of American democracy's serious problems lies in the fact that the values and goals of the American people are divided. Until the Negro is free to accept for himself the same values and strive for the same goals as the rest of the population, the integration and solidarity of the Nation are only partially achieved.

A larger participation of the Negro in American life does not necessarily involve amalgamation or an in-

⁶⁶ These values include standards of beauty and attractiveness which are to a large extent culturally determined. Since the Negro lives in a world in which the physical characteristics of his race are associated with inferiority of status and opportunity it is not surprising that a dark skin and Negroid features are usually regarded as a misfortune. The extent to which color and other Negroid characteristics affect the individual are revealed in the series of studies of Negro youth sponsored by the American Youth Commission. See especially Charles S. Johnson's *Growing up in the Black Belt*; and W. Lloyd Warner, and others. *Color and Human Nature*.

⁶⁷ For a discussion of the problems of the Negro as a minority group, see Donald Young's *American Minority Peoples*.

crease in race mixture. It does involve the removal of arbitrary limits imposed solely because of race and irrespective of personal qualities or achievement. Essentially, it would remove the barriers to mobility and free competition and give to Negroes an opportunity to make their way as individuals without the limitations now imposed by group status.

Obviously, such integration cannot be achieved either rapidly or by arbitrary methods, and any great progress toward such a goal must, perhaps, be counted by generations rather than by years. For standing in the way of the Negro's progress is a battery of customs, traditions, fears, and superstitions. Economic competition plays a large role but either concomitantly or inherent in the economic competition is a struggle for status. Furthermore there is a circular reinforcement which makes the situation more difficult. Because of previous low status and the present limitations on economic opportunity and social mobility a large percent of the Negroes in America, particularly in the deep South, are persons of low-class habits. The caste structure arbitrarily blocks their escape from a lower class position and yet the fact of their lower class position is one of the chief reasons assigned for their status.

Moreover, progress toward the goal will probably be made by indirect as well as by direct advances. The improvement of segregated services may, in some cases, be a necessary step along the way. In other cases the choice must be made between the immediate vocational opportunities for Negroes provided by the segregated institutions and the long time gain that comes in the Negro's free access to unsegregated services. For example, Negro students are admitted to many schools and colleges in which Negroes are not accepted on the faculty. An extension of segregation might increase the number of professional positions open to Negroes but at the same time would tend to extend the segregation pattern that places so many limitations upon the Negro group as a whole.

It should be remembered that the race problem as we know it is actually only in part a race problem; and it is not a problem that can be "solved" in the sense that a generally satisfactory solution is immediately possible. All the good will in the world could not create an ideal situation, and were all racial barriers and restrictions removed, the great majority of Negroes would find that they still faced the problems which confront the underprivileged white people of the Nation.

Moreover, changes in group relations do not come about as a result of fiat or of force. The race attitudes in America have come to be associated with the deepest and most cherished loyalties of the dominant group so that any change in the pattern of the relations is regarded as a threat to the most sacred values. Such attitudes and habits long outlive the social and economic conditions that give them birth.

But while we do not face an immediately solvable problem we do have an adjustable situation which can be greatly improved. The problem which confronts the American people of both races is how to gain an understanding and an objective evaluation of the situation and to make progress toward a more democratic social order in the speediest manner consistent with orderly change. Progress cannot be made without change but when change is accelerated beyond a given degree, social disorder and eventual chaos may result. On the other hand, if a population resists the normal change which, when wisely directed, results in progress, stagnation may result and disequilibrium and even chaos may come about because adjustments in the structure are too slow to keep pace with changes in the social and economic conditions of all or a part of the group. The educational, social, and economic progress of the Negro has been so rapid that there are now a large number of culturally assimilated Negroes who are shut out from participation in many areas of American life, not because of any lack on their part but because of the fact of race. In this case there has been created an anachronism in that changes in the social structure have been too slow to keep pace with the development of the Negro group.

The situation now is not that an alien group may be absorbed so quickly as to disrupt the structure, but that a culturally assimilated group may be held back from the position in the society to which personal qualities would normally entitle them. We are reaching—if we have not already reached—one of those critical periods when stagnation or social disorganization is probable unless the rate of change in the structure is accelerated.

The race relations pattern in America is seen as deeply grounded in the *folkways* and *mores*,⁶⁸ and those deeply grounded ways of thinking and feeling are often nonrational ones. Being nonrational they will be affected only in a limited degree by direct attack. They do yield to economic interest and to changing technological conditions which set the relations in a new context. The fact that we are in the midst of an extremely critical and fluid world situation represents both danger and opportunity. If the economic situation grows worse and if our present racial attitudes are re-enforced by European race ideologies, change may take a reactionary form. On the other hand the danger and disorder on the outside may be utilized to bring about within the American population more of a non-racial integration and solidarity.

American democracy must be preserved. In this critical period, as never before, we need not only national solidarity but the fullest possible contribution from every portion of our population.

⁶⁸ *Folkways* refer to the customary ways of doing things and are regarded as the proper way by most persons. *Mores* are *folkways* which have taken on a moral quality; that is, they are regarded as not only proper but right.

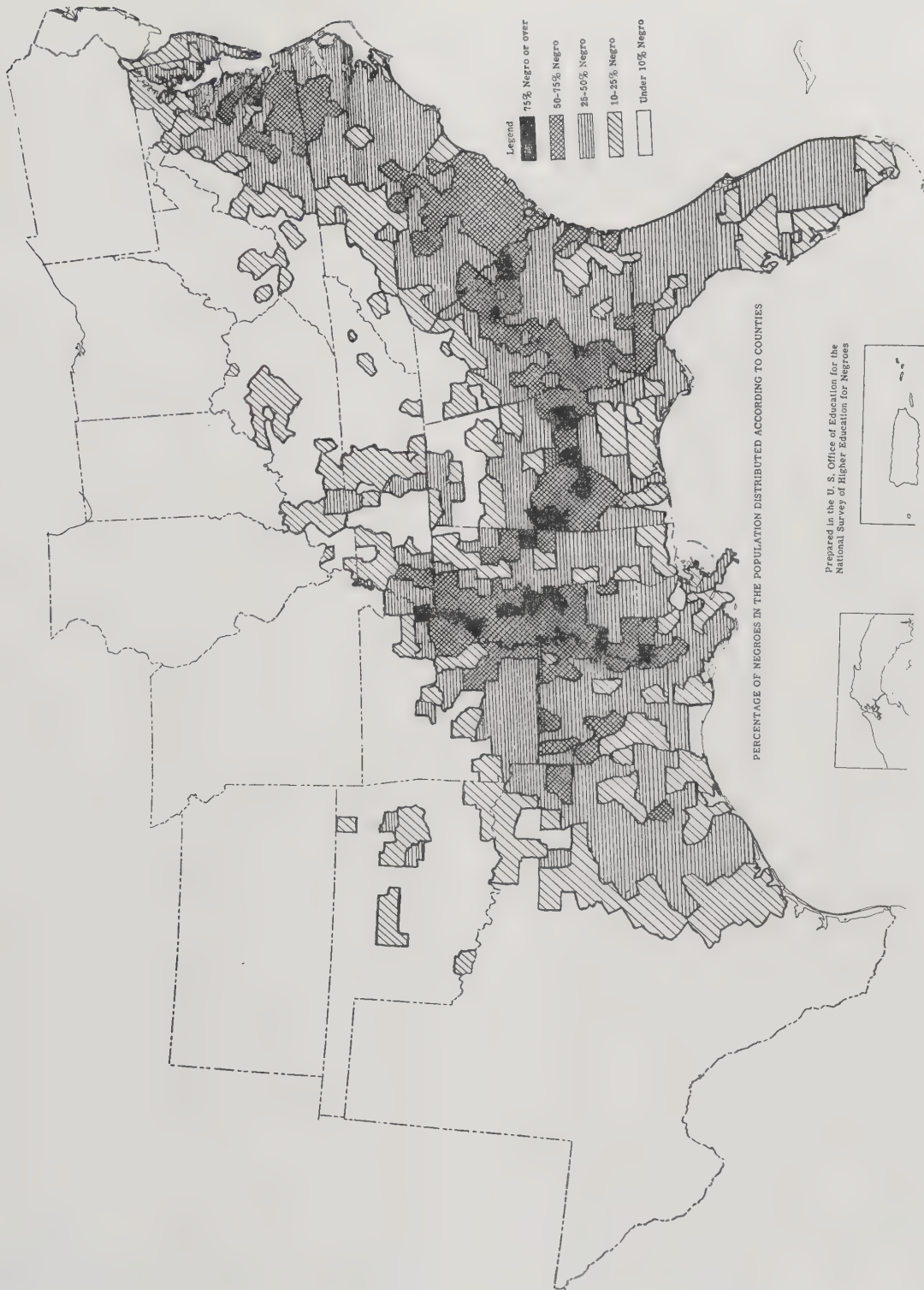


FIGURE 1.—The percent Negroes were of the Southern population by counties, 1930.

Chapter III. Regional Factors in the Socio-Economic Status of Negroes

The Negro Population

IN ALMOST every part of the United States Negroes are subject to some limitation of opportunity for full participation in American life. Outside the South¹, these limitations are seldom legalized, and even when separate schools exist such separation is not usually compulsory. This Survey is concerned primarily with those areas in which separate schools are legally mandatory. Under such circumstances the education of Negroes from kindergarten to college is essentially a special problem. Even in this region, however, the problems of the Negro are racial only in part. In a large measure they are interwoven with the basic problems of the region. Moreover, problems of the Negro in the South extend to other regions, for more than half the Negroes now living in the North were born in Southern States. The handicaps to which Negroes are subject, and the opportunities they enjoy, vary even in the South. It is important, therefore, to know where Negroes are as well as the trends in migration that indicate the places in which they are likely to be found in the future.

In 1930 there were more than 9 million Negroes in the Southern States² and a little less than 3 million in the North and West. Negroes constituted 9.7 percent of the total population of the United States. They were nearly 25 percent of the population of the South, but less than 4 percent of the population of the North and hardly 1 percent in the West. If the total Negro population of the United States is considered, 78.7 percent of all American Negroes were found in the South. All the Northern States together had 20.3 percent of the total while the West had only 1 percent.³

Data presented in other sections of this report suggest that, in general, the Negro's opportunity tends to decrease with the increase in the proportion that Negroes are of the population. This observed tendency gives added significance to the fact that more than three-fourths of all American Negroes live in the region in which the proportion of Negroes in the population is relatively

high;⁴ it also suggests that a more even distribution of Negroes throughout the United States might increase individual opportunity for Negroes. Such a change in distribution might also lift some of the handicaps to which even the more privileged Negroes are subjected in their identification with a group so large a portion of which live in a region where restrictions on economic opportunity and social mobility tend to hold them inexorably to a low status.

Migration trends are in the direction of a more even distribution of Negroes, though in the North they tend to congregate in certain urban areas and there is no immediate prospect of any rapid change in the total distribution. With the exception of the first World War period, the migration has been steady but relatively slow. In 1860 less than 8 percent of all American Negroes were outside the South. By 1900 the number in the North had increased to 10 percent of the total with an insignificant number in the West. By 1920 more than 14 percent were in the North, but not until 1930 did the number exceed 20 percent in the North and reach as high as 1 percent in the West.

To show the present distribution in another way, in 1930 there were in the United States 109 Negroes to each 1,000 white persons. In the South as a whole there were 338 Negroes to each 1,000 white persons, while in the North there were only 34 Negroes and in the West only 11 Negroes to each 1,000 white persons.

In 1930 Georgia and Mississippi each had more than a million Negroes; Alabama and North Carolina each had more than nine hundred thousand; Texas, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Virginia had more than six hundred thousand each; Arkansas, Tennessee, and Florida each had more than four hundred thousand; Maryland and Kentucky had more than two hundred thousand each; while Oklahoma, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia each had more than one hundred thousand. Of the Southern States only Delaware fell below one hundred thousand Negroes, but these constituted more than 13 percent of the total population of the State.⁵

In the percentage Negroes were of the total popula-

¹ The terms South, North, and West are here used in the Census classification. The South includes the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central States. The North includes the New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and West North Central States. The West includes the Mountain and Pacific States. All of the States in the South together with Missouri and the District of Columbia require separate schools for white and Negro children.

² When Missouri and the District of Columbia are included there were in 1930, 9,585,417 Negroes in the States with separate schools. Unless otherwise indicated all figures are from the 1930 U. S. Census. See Negroes in the United States.

³ Negroes were 24.7 percent of the total southern population but within the South they were 28 percent in the South Atlantic States; 26.9 percent in the East South Central States; and 18.7 percent in the West South Central States. Of the total Negro population 37.2 percent were in the South Atlantic States, 22.4 percent in the East South Central States, and 19.2 percent in the West South Central States.

⁴ In 1930 not only did 78.7 percent of all American Negroes live in States in which they were 5 percent or more of the population but more than 60 percent of them lived in the States in which Negroes exceeded 25 percent of the total population. Nine States (Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas, and the District of Columbia) had 60.6 percent of the total Negro population and only 12.5 percent of the total white population of the United States.

⁵ In the North, Pennsylvania and New York each had more than 400,000 Negroes; Illinois and Ohio each had more than 300,000; Missouri and New Jersey each had more than 200,000; Michigan and Indiana had more than 100,000 each. However, the proportion that Negroes were of the population in these States was relatively small and only in Missouri are separate schools required.

tion, Mississippi had a little more than half of her population Negro in 1930, and South Carolina followed with more than 45 percent. More than a third of the population of Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana were Negroes, and they constituted more than a fourth of the population in Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas, and the District of Columbia. In Tennessee, Maryland, Texas, and Delaware, Negroes were from 10 to 20 percent of the population; and only Kentucky, Oklahoma, and West Virginia fell below 10 percent. Outside the South, Missouri and New Jersey were the only States which had more than 5 percent Negro population. The other States ranged from one-tenth of 1 percent in Maine and in the Dakotas to more than 4 percent in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Illinois.

Not only within the South but within each State there are wide variations in the number and proportion of Negroes. An area made up of certain counties in eastern Virginia and North Carolina, and a belt of counties extending from the Atlantic Coast through South Carolina, central Georgia, and Alabama, together with a portion of the lower Mississippi Valley make up the region generally known as the "Black Belt." In these counties Negroes constitute 50 percent or more of the population. The number of such counties has decreased in recent decades, but in 1930 there were 191 counties in which there was a total Negro population of nearly 3 million, or almost 30 percent of the Negro population of the South.⁶

Of the total 1,415 counties in the South, 20 reported no Negro population in 1930, and 604, or 42.7 percent, had a Negro population that was less than one-eighth of the total. On the other hand, 584 counties had more than a fourth of their population Negro. Of this number 172 counties had between one-half and three-fourths of their population Negro, while in 19 counties Negroes constituted more than three-fourths of the population. Of these 19 counties, Mississippi had 8, Alabama 6, Georgia 2, and Virginia, Arkansas, and Louisiana 1 each.

In every decade since 1880 the white population has increased more rapidly than the Negro, the increase in the United States being 13.6 percent for Negroes and 15.7 percent for the white population in the decade from 1920 to 1930. The percent increase by sections, however, shows striking differences for this period. In the South, the increase for the white population was 16.6 percent, while the Negro population increased only 5 percent. In the North, however, the white population increased 13.4 percent and the Negro 63.6 percent; while in the West the white increase was 30.1 percent and the Negro 53.1 percent. Georgia, Virginia, Kentucky, and South Carolina had decreases in the Negro population, while Florida, West Virginia, and to a lesser extent, North Carolina and the District of Columbia

were the only southern areas which had large increases.⁷

Another indication of the extent to which the Negro population is being redistributed, and a reminder of the national significance of the whole situation, is to be found in the number and percentage of Negroes living in regions other than those in which they were born. In 1930 less than 1 percent of the Negroes living in the South were born outside the region, but more than half the Negroes living in the North and West were born—and often reached maturity—in the South. In 1930 nearly a million and half southern-born Negroes were living in the North.

The interstate migration figures are even more striking. More than one-fourth of the Negroes in the United States in 1930 were living in some State other than the one in which they were born. The percentages by States of those who were born elsewhere varied from a little more than 2 percent in South Carolina to more than 59 percent in West Virginia and the District of Columbia. On the whole, about 3 million native-born Negroes in 1930 were living outside the States in which they were born.

Another significant factor in the situation is the fact that much of this migration even in the South has been from the underprivileged rural areas to the more privileged urban centers. The northern migration has been almost entirely to large cities. From 1920 to 1930 every Southern State had an increase in the percentage of its Negro population which was urban, and in 11 of the States the increase amounted to more than 10 percent. In 1910 only 27.3 percent of the Negroes in America were urban, but in 1930 43.7 percent were in cities. In the North 88 percent of the Negro population was urban as against 32 percent for the South.

This distribution and movement of Negro population suggests at least two things. First of all, the results of

⁷ The increases of white population in certain periods was largely augmented by European immigrants. The number of foreign-born Negroes in the United States is relatively insignificant. Both the Negro and white birth rates are higher in the rural South than in the urban North; the areas of population decrease are areas of out-migration.

Again, the higher proportion of children, who are necessarily dependent on their elders for support, in rural communities and in areas of retarded economic development, place additional economic burden on the parents and taxpayers in these sections. If country children were to receive educational advantages equal to those enjoyed by the average city child, the tax burden for educational purposes would have to be at least 50 percent higher at present for the average rural adult than for the average city dweller.

FRANK LORIMER and FREDERICK OSBORN.
Dynamics of Population. p. 37.

⁶ Of these counties with more than 50 percent of the population Negro, Georgia had 43, Mississippi 35, South Carolina 25, Virginia 21, Alabama 18, Louisiana 16, Arkansas and North Carolina 9 each, Florida and Texas 4 each, and Tennessee 2.

poverty, ignorance, and poor schools cannot be kept within State or regional lines. The cultural and educational level of the more privileged areas and of the Nation as a whole is lowered by the deficiencies in these out-migration-regions which, in many cases, are lacking in the resources for greatly raising the educational level of either the total or the Negro population.

The second factor is equally clear. In spite of the degree of migration out of the South more than three-fourths of all American Negroes are to be found in that region. There is no evidence to suggest that there will be any drastic redistribution of this population in the near future. For 9 million southern Negroes the problem of getting an education either for themselves or for their children is the problem of getting it in the South and, for the time being at least, getting it in the separate Negro schools. This problem is racial only in part, just as it is only in part an educational problem. In large measure the problems of the Negro's education are interwoven with the social, economic, educational and even political problems of the region in which he lives. It is this regional situation to which attention will now be given.

The South and the Nation

The region known as the South is variously defined. In the Census classification the term refers to 16 States and the District of Columbia, the 16 including the southern area from Delaware on the east to Texas and Oklahoma on the West. In a comprehensive study published as *Southern Regions*,⁸ Prof. Howard W. Odum shows clearly the lack of homogeneity in this wide area. He suggests a grouping of 11 States—Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina,

⁸ Odum, Howard W. Southern regions of the United States.

Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas—to be known as the Southeast, a region which includes most of the old slave States. In this classification Oklahoma and Texas are placed with New Mexico and Arizona as the Southwest; Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia are included in the Northeast; while Missouri is classed with a group designated as Middle States. This classification was evolved from a study of a large number of factors important as social, economic, and educational indices and it is significant in that each area shows a relatively high degree of homogeneity. This is particularly true of the 11 States known as the Southeast.

This study of the higher education of Negroes includes in its area of consideration all of the States in which separate schools for Negroes are mandatory. The study thus covers 17 States and the District of Columbia. However, as a matter of convenience, throughout this report the term "The South" is used in the Census classification of 16 States and the District of Columbia. When Missouri is included in the group it is so specified. "The Southeast" is used to designate the 11 States thus defined in *Southern Regions*.

It is important to recognize that conditions vary greatly in the area in which the separate school for Negroes is a distinguishing characteristic.⁹ It has been pointed out in a previous section that the proportion which Negroes are of the population varies from less

⁹ Rupert Vance says: "The American South possesses enough diversity in the build of the land to justify its treatment as a complex of inter-related subregions." The South in this context refers to 13 States.—*Human Geography of the South*, p. 23.

For other discussions of the geographic factors underlying the problems and potentialities of the Southern Regions see the following publications: Archer Butler Hulbert, *Soil its Influence on the History of the United States*. Hugh H. Bennett, *The Soils and Agriculture of the Southern States*. Oliver E. Baker, *Agricultural Regions of North America*. A. E. Parkins, *The South: Its Economic-Geographic Development*. J. Russell Smith and Phillip M. Ogden, *North America*. Ray H. Whitbeck and Olive J. Thomas, *The Geographic Factor*.

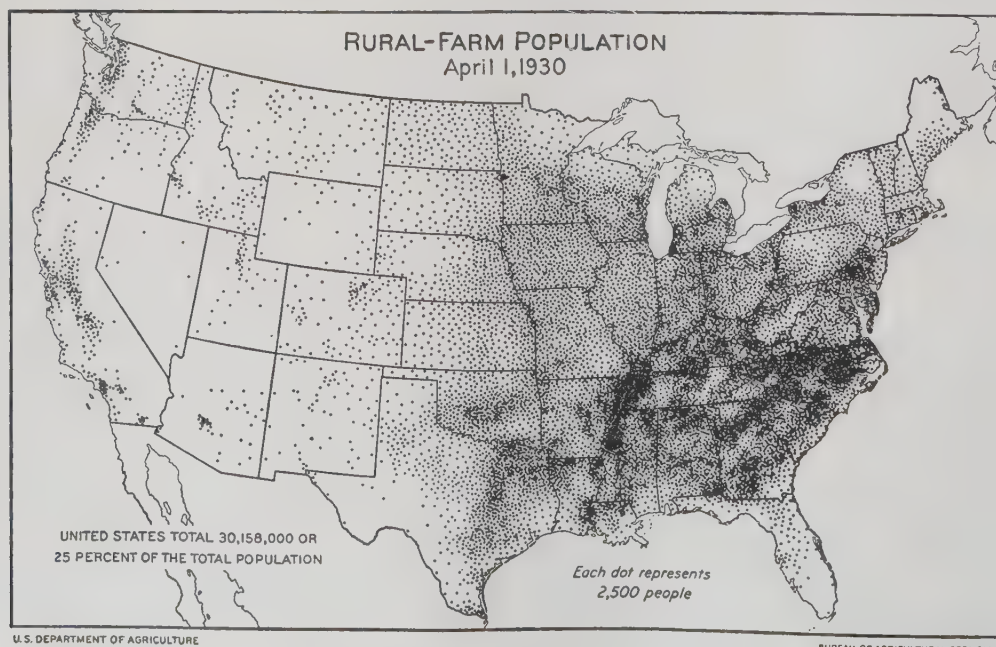


FIGURE 2.—Distribution of rural-farm population, 1930.

than 10 percent in some of these States to 45 and 50 percent in others. A glance at the maps of Missouri and Oklahoma will show the Negro population concentrated in a limited number of counties while, with a few exceptions, all Texas counties having as much as 5 percent of their population Negro will be found east of a line drawn North and South through approximately the center of the State. Almost all the other Southern States show one or more counties in which less than 5 percent of the population are Negroes.

While the percentage which Negroes are of the population in any area appears to be an important index of their relative opportunity in that area, there are numerous other factors which affect the level of opportunity of both white persons and Negroes throughout the South. With some exceptions in the case of Florida with its northern capital and high urban population, the 11 States which Odum designates as the Southeast have in common a number of basic problems which are not so acute in the other States of the South. Chief among these significant factors are a low plane of living, a high illiteracy rate, a high ratio of children to adults, a high tenancy rate, a large farm population, and a low per capita income. The effect of such a combination of factors appears in the per capita school expenditures, the length of the school term, low wages, lack of library facilities, and countless other cultural deprivations.

The regional handicaps which these conditions indicate are multiplied for Negroes not only by the separate and usually inferior colored schools but by the further fact that the Negro population is generally excluded from whatever cultural opportunities there are in the region. However, this regional picture shows clearly one basic fact that should not be overlooked. Were Negroes to have their per capita share of every opportunity and resource which the region offers, and even if the color bar were removed so that the expense

of dual schools and other separate services were eliminated, southern Negroes, along with their white neighbors, would still have an opportunity far below that of the rest of the Nation.

Moreover, it cannot too often be repeated that the problems of the Negro, like the problems of the South, are really the Nation's problems. They are of national concern in two specific ways. In the first place, our Nation is an inter-related economic unit in which the low productive and consumptive level of one region creates an economic unbalance that is detrimental to the whole country. In the second place, it is this economically, educationally, and culturally handicapped region whose surplus population migrates to other areas. Not only does the high birth rate, white and colored, put an unusual burden on the South, since a large proportion of these children migrate elsewhere in later years, but this shifting of population makes the cultural poverty of any region of significance to the whole Nation.¹⁰

In 1930 about 23 percent of the total native white population, and about 25 percent of the total Negro population were living outside the States in which they were born. Five million persons born east of the Mississippi were living west of that river; but the States in the northeast quadrant contained more than a million and a half people from west of the Mississippi and more than 3 million born south of the Mason and Dixon line. About one child of every eight born and educated in Alabama or Mississippi lives his adult life in some other State.¹¹

Social scientists no longer resort to naive biological explanations with reference to Negroes or poor whites, nor do they trace all the South's troubles to war and reconstruction. The South's poverty goes back to a colonial economy, to the problems of an agricultural region, to the wasteful exploitation of natural resources, to lack of machinery and technological skill for converting its natural wealth to the use of the region, and to many other more obscure factors which form a complex of interrelated conditions unfavorable to progress.¹²

In the words of the National Emergency Council,

The South has been forced for generations to sell its agricultural products in an unprotected world market, and to buy its manufactured goods at prices supported by high tariffs. The South, in fact, has been caught in a vise that has kept it from moving along with the main stream of American economic life. On the one hand, the freight rates

The population (in the Southern States) is a young population with consequently greater tasks of education than other areas. While the South possesses 1,034 children under 15 years of age for every 1,000 adults, the North has only 782, and the Pacific coast 599. Granted equal resources, the educational task per adult would remain much greater in the South. It is the farming environment which conditions a high birth rate, and a large majority of these children are on the farm. Moreover, the low density of an agricultural society operates to make the educational task more formidable. Eleven Southern States, possessing one-fourth of the Nation's population, have and must educate one-half of the Nation's farm children.

RUPERT VANCE. *Human Geography of the South*. p. 480.

¹⁰ There is a population replacement surplus of 50 percent annually among farm people and a deficit of 25 to 30 percent annually in the larger cities. In the future these cities can grow or maintain themselves only by drawing on the country. Since about half the natural increase of the total population now occurs in the South, the poorer sections of the country are bound to furnish an increasing proportion of our people, with an inevitable lowering of our cultural level. See U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. *Farmers in a Changing World*. p. 71.

¹¹ The National Resources Committee. *Problems of a Changing Population*. p. 9; National Emergency Council. *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*, p. 17.

¹² Vance, Rupert. *Regional Reconstruction: A Way Out for the South*. p. 1-31.

have hampered its industry; on the other hand our high tariff has subsidized industry in other sections of the country at the expense of the South. Penalized for being rural, and handicapped in its efforts to industrialize, the economic life of the South has been squeezed to a point where the purchasing power of the southern people does not provide an adequate market for its own industries nor an attractive market for those of the rest of the country.

Moreover, by curtailing imports, the tariff has reduced the ability of foreign countries to buy American cotton and other agricultural exports. America's trade restrictions, without sufficient expansion of our domestic markets for southern products, have hurt the South more than any other region.¹³

For the purpose of this survey the causes that lie back of southern problems are important to the extent to which they indicate ways in which progress can be made toward lifting the economic and cultural level of the region. Of more immediate significance for this study is an analysis of the existing conditions with special reference to the Negro population. There has been a tendency for the Nation to think of the Negro as the South's problem and for the South itself to blame many of its ills on the presence of an alien and supposedly inferior race. As an almost inevitable corollary of such attitudes on the part of white people, Negroes have been prone to think of their problem as solely one of getting more nearly their fair share of existing goods and services.

In more recent years there has developed in the South a new type of leadership with a fresh approach to the problems of the region. On the one hand there is assumed a national interest in the welfare of all parts of the country, and on the other hand social and economic problems are attacked on the basis of regional needs.¹⁴ An essential element in this approach lies in the recognition that the welfare of the region, and ultimately that of the Nation, implies the welfare of all the people. From the economic standpoint alone the raising of the consumptive level of the South would have an important bearing on national as well as regional well-being. Moreover, it is recognized that the economic problems of the South cannot be solved nor its cultural level raised without the cooperation of its total population and their consequent participation in the benefits resulting from regional progress. As Negroes comprise one-fourth of the population of the South, and more than a third of the Southeast, it is evident that the region cannot advance unless its Negro citizens make progress, and it is equally clear that the welfare of three-fourths of the Negroes in America is tied up intimately with the welfare of the South.¹⁵

The peculiar problems of the South call for leadership of a high order as well as the full cooperation of both white and Negro citizens. The primary importance of leadership is pointed up in Odum's statement that the Southern Regions "are characterized by an extraordinary chasm between the potentialities as indicated by resources and actualities as measured by facts," and that sectionalism has conditioned the South "to isolation, individualism, ingrowing patriotism, cultural inbreeding, civic immaturity, and social inadequacy." Further summing up the characteristics of the regions Odum says, "as to resources—superabundance; as to science, skills, technology, organization—deficiency; as to general economy—waste; as to culture—richness with immaturity and multiple handicaps; as to trends—hesitancy and relative retrogression in many aspects of culture."¹⁶

Regardless of the racial group to be served, higher education in this region can be realistic only if these economic, technological, and cultural lags are taken into consideration. Colleges with educational objectives that contemplate only the student's exposure to a collection of liberal arts courses, or colleges that offer vocational training which fits the student only to hold his own in a maladjusted economic system, have little or no contribution to make to a region now recognized as presenting a most acute economic problem.

The gross inequalities in financial provision for the support of education in different states grow out of fundamental differences in the economic resources and tax paying capacity of these States. Any attempt to achieve greater equalization of financial support for education in the United States must take into account this fundamental fact.

NORTON and NORTON. *Wealth, Children, and Education*. p. 70.

Regional Problems of the South

Turning to a brief analysis of some of the major problems of the South, we find first of all that the region has suffered many of the disabilities of a colonial economy. As Professor Vance points out, the function of the region in a colonial economy is to extract staple raw materials from its wealth of soils, forests, and minerals; export them to the mother country for fabrication; and, then buy them back if it can. A colonial economy is a debtor economy. It begins as an investment on the part of the mother country, it accumulates but little capital of its own, it lacks the organization of credit, and as economic opportunities arise they must be financed from outside the area.

¹³ Report on Economic Conditions of the South. p. 60.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the fundamental distinction between sectionalism and regionalism, see *Regional Factors in National Planning*, The National Resources Committee.

¹⁵ Odum expresses this newer point of view when he says, "The Southern Regional Study has been projected and carried out on the assumption that the Negro is an integral, normal, and continuing factor in the culture of the Southeast. . . . The facts are that the Negro is a part, both creator and creature, of southern culture, for whom the region is responsible as for all other groups." *Southern Regions*, p. 481.

¹⁶ Ibid., Introductory Note IX; p. 13, 15.

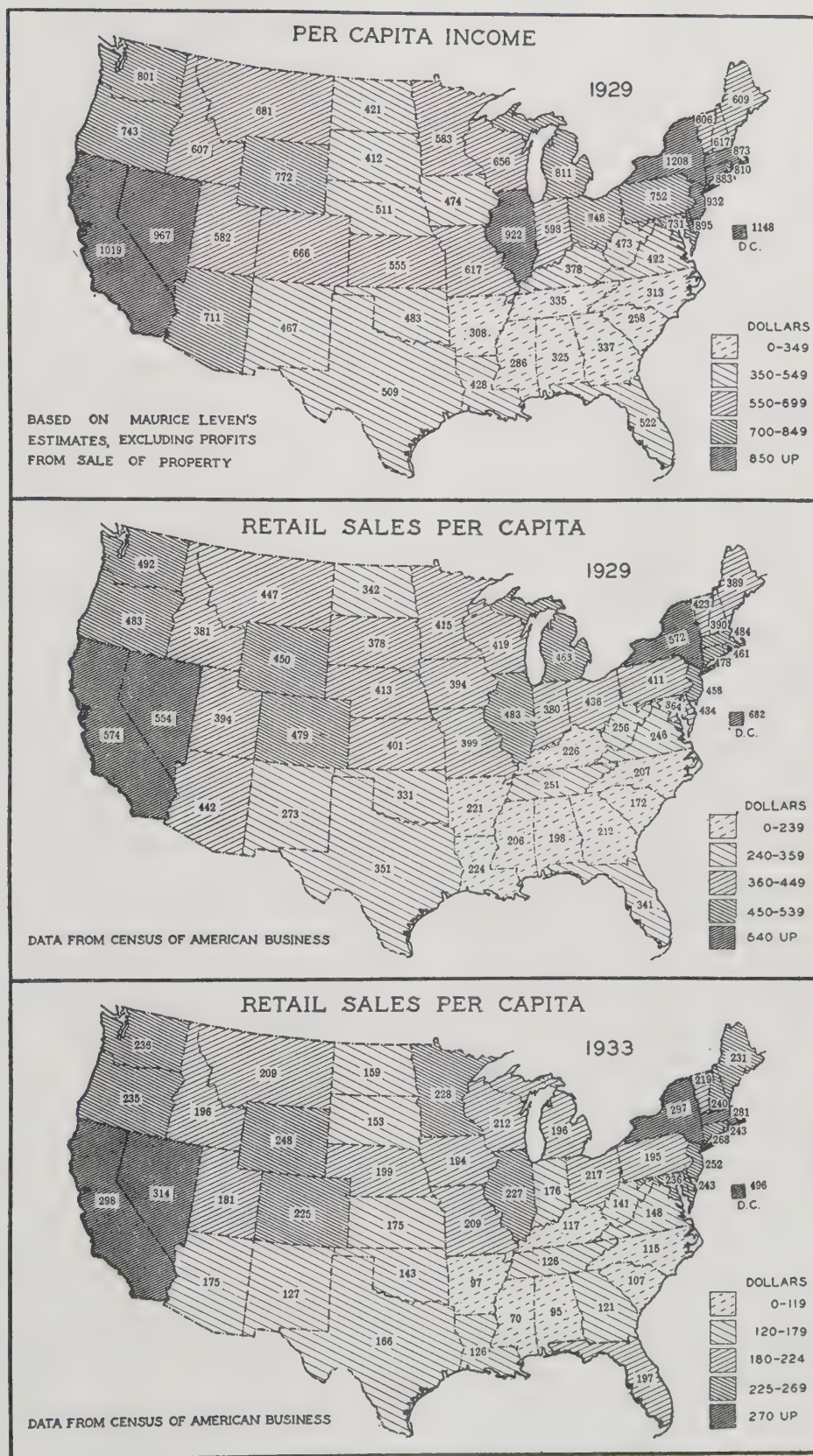


FIGURE 3.—Estimated retail sales per capita, by States, 1929 and 1933; also income per capita, 1929. From Goodrich and others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*.

The surplus returns are exported as profits, interest, and dividends to outside businessmen in command of capital.¹⁷ From the standpoint of economy the relation of the agricultural South to the industrial North has long had much of this colonial character.¹⁸

The National Emergency Council supports this analysis. In the report to the President on the economic conditions of the South the Council says:

Because of the poverty in which the South was left after the War between the States, and because of the high cost of credit since that time, a very large share of the natural resources of the South is owned in other regions. . . .

The public utilities in the South . . . all the major railroad systems . . . most of the great electric holding company systems . . . the transmission and distribution of natural gas . . . are owned or controlled outside the region. . . . Absentee ownership and discriminatory freight rates make it cheaper to ship raw materials north for processing than to manufacture them at home. . . .

For mining its mineral wealth and shipping it away in a raw or semi-finished form the South frequently receives nothing but the low wages of unskilled and semi-skilled labor. . . . When a southerner buys the finished product, on the other hand, the price he pays includes all the wasteful cross-hauling involved in the present system.¹⁹

The effect on the region of the South's colonial, extractive economy is more apparent when presented in terms of occupational distribution and wages. The three broad industry classes are extractive, mechanical and manufacturing, and trade and service. In the country as a whole since 1880 the proportion of gainfully employed workers in the extractive group has declined while the proportions in the other groups have risen more or less steadily. However, even in 1880 it was in the Southeast that extractive industries were of most outstanding importance and it is in this region that the least change has occurred. In 1930 the extractive group still occupied approximately 46 percent of the workers of the Southeast as against 9.4 percent in the Northeast and 23.8 percent for the Nation as a whole. On the other hand, the Southeast had only 19.6 percent of its gainfully employed persons in manufacturing and mechanical industries as against 37 percent for the Northeast and 29 percent for the Nation as a whole. In 1930 the Southeast had 40 percent of the Nation's agricultural workers, 33 percent of those in forestry, and 15 percent of those employed in mining.²⁰

Using the 1929 figures, the Northeast had 44.4 per-

cent of the total wage earners in all manufactures and paid 45.7 percent of the total wages. The middle States had 33.1 percent of the wage earners and paid 36.2 percent of the wages, the Southeast had 13.2 percent of the wage earners and paid only 8.4 percent of the wages. (The Southeast has 20.8 percent of the total population.) In North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia the average annual wage in manufacturing, even in 1929, was less than \$800 a year. Seven other Southern States had an average annual wage of less than \$1,000. No State outside the South averaged so low as this.²¹

Two and a half million tenant farmers in semi-poverty with low standards of living and low purchasing power, with little desire to lift themselves above their present level and less desire to be efficient economic producers, are a dead weight that no section of a civilized country can long carry and prosper in a competitive world.

A. E. PARKINS. *Culture in the South.* p 78.

Not only does the South have the largest number of workers in the extractive industries which pay less than the other types of industry, but the few manufacturing industries present pay smaller wages than are paid elsewhere. For a long time the bulk of the industrial wage earners in the South have been concentrated in a comparatively small number of low-wage industries. Textile industries accounted for nearly a third of the total in 1927 with lumber and timber next and these followed by steam railroad shops. The average annual earnings of industrial workers in the South are, roughly speaking, about 40 percent below the average for the rest of the country. The disparity in wages is least in those industries employing a high percentage of skilled workers.²²

The problems raised by the extractive industries involve more than a low wage scale. These industries are based on direct exploitation of natural resources and give rise to scattered types of settlement. In contrast to people in urban communities, workers in these industries have fewer alternative opportunities for employment open to them, and they tend to have less mobility than people in urban centers. Furthermore, in rural areas the per capita cost of educational and cultural services is greatly increased, so that the rural population suffers the triple burden of low incomes, high costs for given services, and high ratio of children to adults.²³

¹⁷ Vance, Rupert B. *Regional Reconstruction: A Way Out for the South*, p. 13.

¹⁸ Claudius Murchison points out that the absence of a well-rounded economy leaves the South with the worst form of economic disadvantage, that is of having to exchange a few bulky staples for the myriads of highly manufactured goods she has to consume. "It is a relationship with the outside world that breeds three great evils: A chronic underpricing of the things sold; a condition of extreme instability, since the most extreme reactions and the forces of the business cycle are centered in the market for staples; and, finally, a lack of alternative occupations at home which intensifies the problems of unemployment and wages."

Depression and the Future of Business in Culture and the South, edited by W. T. Couch, p. 103.

¹⁹ *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*. p. 53, 54, 55. The National Emergency Council uses "the South" to refer to 13 States, excluding Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia.

²⁰ Odum. *Op. cit.*, p. 58. See also *Problems of a changing population*. p. 44-46.

²¹ Odum. *Op. cit.*, p. 52, 73. The Northeast is used to include Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

²² Heer, Clarence. *Income and Wages in the South*, p. 29-31, 54. See also, Maurice Leven, *Income in the Various States*. These figures are not recent, but they are important in that they show that the present conditions are of long standing.

²³ For example, farm people are responsible for the care and education of some 31 percent of the Nation's children; yet farm income is only 9 percent of the national income. U. S. Department of Agriculture. *Farmers in a Changing World*. p. 372.

Not only is the South a colonial, extractive economy, but the major industry in that economy is agriculture. With the exception of those in California, agricultural incomes in the United States are lower than in any other industry, and the farm problem throughout the country has become a matter of national concern. The South has a double stake in the problem, first, because the Southern States contain more than half the Nation's farmers (53 percent in 1935) and, second, because superimposed upon the national farm problem are many special problems peculiar to, or emphasized in, the South.

The national agricultural problems, in the main, date from the period of the first World War. From 1897 to the World War, America enjoyed what was perhaps the best agricultural period in its history.²⁴ The period from 1900 to 1914 was relatively prosperous, but since 1910 the income from manufacturing has exceeded that from agriculture, and the United States has risen steadily to first place among industrial countries. Agriculture responded also and controlled the European market, but farmers did not reap the benefit to anything like the same extent as business men. Farmers could not combine to fix prices or control output. As prices fell their fixed charges rose. Mortgages and tenancy steadily increased. Credit facilities for farmers were lacking, and they suffered from contracted currency. The war proved to be the turning point that compelled a reorientation of our entire farm economy. The world of abundance and of relatively free exchange had turned into one of low buying power, with international trade balked by a barricade of restrictions and political design.²⁵

In the depression of 1920 farm prices fell further and stayed down longer than non-agricultural prices. The expansion and production built up to meet war-time and boomtime demand for farm products made all the more disastrous the low prices resulting from the shrinkage of both domestic and foreign demand, a shrinkage which was followed by a train of maladjustments apparent in the form of farm foreclosure, tax delinquency, and other evidences of distress.²⁶

A part of this picture is tied up with special problems of soil erosion, wasteful land use, and a steady increase of tenancy. In the half century from 1880 to 1930 the number of farm tenants more than doubled, and the proportion of tenants to owners on each 1,000 farms increased 138 percent. Farm land rented in 1935 constituted more than 45 percent of all the farm land in the country as compared to 31 percent in 1900. From 1930 to 1937 about 5,500,000 farms in the United States changed hands, about 1,500,000 of them

as the result of foreclosures, forced sales, tax sales, and bankruptcy proceedings.²⁷

By the end of the 1930's farm income per capita was only a little better than before the war, while nonfarm income was about 60 percent better. In 1935-36 farmers had an average yearly per capita income of \$277, about half that of the nonfarm population.²⁸

A part of the acute farm problem is a matter of surplus farm population. The rural areas are the areas of high birth rates, but normally this increase in farm population serves to replace the population in the industrial cities where birth rates are lower. During the depression not only did the cities offer no openings for farm people, but many city people themselves were pushed back on farms which seemed to offer greater possibilities of subsistence than the unemployed could find in industrial areas. Between 1930 and 1940 the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture failed to decline for the first time in 100 years, in spite of the increased mechanization of agriculture which would normally reduce the number of persons required to operate the Nation's farms. At the beginning of 1940 as large a proportion of the total population as in 1930 was still on the land; and as large a proportion of the working population 10 years of age and over was employed in agriculture. The excess population on the farms in 1940 amounted to about 6 million persons. The net result is that the average standard of living of the farm population is about 20 percent lower than it would be if a normal proportion of the population were on the land.²⁹

The fact that defense industries and the induction of men into selective service temporarily changes the situation should not blind us to the fact that the farm problem is one of long standing. Neither are the gains made through crop control, resettlement, and soil conservation more than a beginning toward a solution. In a changing society like the United States which is growing faster industrially than agriculturally, the proportion of those engaged on the land to those engaged in other industries is a declining one. Increased mechanization, competition from previously undeveloped areas in other parts of the world, the closing of our own frontiers, our change from a debtor to a creditor nation, and numerous political and economic ramifications of the international situation preclude any easy or permanent solution of the problems of agriculture.³⁰

The predominantly agricultural South is subject to all the forces which underlie our national farm problem in addition to those which create special problems in this region. Some indication of the position of the region may be found in the fact that in 1929 the per

²⁴ However the gross value of farm products per adult male worker gainfully employed in agriculture in 10 Southern States has averaged but little more than half the corresponding value for the rest of the country for the years 1899-1928. Heer. *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

²⁵ U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. *Op. cit.*, p. 18-21.

²⁶ U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *op. cit.*, p., 489-90.

²⁷ U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

²⁸ U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *op. cit.*, p. 347, 356.

²⁹ U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *op. cit.*, p. 349, 350, 351.

³⁰ Carter Goodrich points out that various indices show that the depression did not bring about any revolutionary change in the regional distribution of American wealth, i. e., the sections which were already poor became poorer. *Migration and Economic Opportunity*. p. 35.

capita farm income ranged from less than \$200 in the Southeast to more than \$800 in the far West, a ratio of $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. The Southeast contains 40 percent of the Nation's farm population, but only 17 percent of the total land in farms, and only 14 percent of the non-farm population. In this region there are something like 13 million people on farms. In 1929 when nearly half the Nation's farms produced only about 11 percent of the farm products sold or traded, two-thirds of these less productive farms were in the South.³¹

Chief among the special agricultural problems of the South are the large population in relation to farm acreage with consequent reduction in the size of farm units; soil erosion and other problems connected with marginal lands; dependence on cash crops such as cotton and tobacco, both of which are subject to violent market fluctuations and enormous risks, combined with a ruinous credit structure; and a steadily increasing rate of tenancy.³² Southeastern farms are the smallest in the Nation. The operating units average only 71 acres, and nearly one-fourth of the units are smaller than 20 acres. A farmer with so little land is forced to plant every foot of it in cash crops, with no room to spare for soil-restoring crops or pastures.³³

The South's heritage of good soil has been wasted by careless use. Sixty-one percent of all the Nation's land badly damaged by erosion is in the Southern States. At least 22 million acres of once fertile soil has been ruined beyond repair. Training in better agricultural methods such as planting soil-restoring crops, terracing, contour plowing, and crop rotation is helping the situation, but such training is still unavailable to most farmers. The South spends each year considerably more money for fertilizer than for agricultural training through its land-grant colleges, experiment stations, and extension workers.³⁴

The National Emergency Council emphasizes the fact that the farming South (13 States) depends on cotton and tobacco for two-thirds of its cash income. More than half of its farmers depend on cotton alone. They are one-crop farmers subjected year after year to risks that would appall the average business man—risks due to the weather, the boll weevil, or the cotton market. On the gamble of the cotton market 2 million southern families stake their year's work and everything they own. No other similar area in the world gambles its welfare and the destinies of so many people on a single crop market year after year.³⁵

Cotton growing is not a simple farm procedure in which the farmer sells his produce in the nearest town. Rather, cotton implies a complex organization of

financing, growing, and marketing. It includes croppers, tenants, small farmers, and planters, but in the system are also the bankers, supply merchants, factory and fertilizer dealers who finance the crop, and the local buyers, general buyers, shippers, and exporters who assemble and classify cotton for sale or export. More than 50 percent of the South's cotton has been regularly sold abroad and the region produces from 55 to 60 percent of the world's annual supply of cotton. Within the memories of many southern farmers the price of a standard bale of cotton has varied from \$25 to \$200.³⁶ It is small wonder that bound up in a system they can neither comprehend nor control, the small owner, the tenant, and the sharecropper are at the mercy of not only the boll weevil and the weather, but an international market.

As cotton is the cornerstone of the economy in so many parts of the South, the merchants, manufacturers, and bankers must share the hazards of the farmer. The men who finance cotton farming charge high rates of interest because their money is subject to far more than the normal commercial risk. As a result of this and other factors, the mortgage debt of southern farm owners has been growing steadily for 20 years. This situation has helped to force more than half of the South's farmers into the status of tenants. Of the nearly 2 million tenant families in the region about two-thirds are white. Approximately half of the sharecroppers are white.³⁷

In his *Human Geography of the South*, Professor Vance shows how a whole complex of habits, practices, and conditions have grown up around the production of cotton. Cotton is produced with a large proportion of expensive credit in connection with a small percentage

³¹ *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*, p. 45. The Report continues, "Few other crops are subject to such violent and unpredictable price variations as cotton. In 1927 cotton farmers got 20 cents a pound for their crop; in 1929 they got 16 cents; in 1931 they got 6 cents; in 1933 they got 10 cents. Only once during the last decade did the price of cotton change less than 10 percent between pickings. Three times in 5 years it jumped more than 40 percent—once up and twice down."

³² Vance. *Regional Reconstruction: A Way Out for the South*. Op. cit.; p. 1-3.

³⁷ *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*. p. 46.

For good or ill, young migrants enter into the economic, social, and political life of the countries in which they spend their mature years; wherever they go they carry with them their cultural heritage, their knowledge or ignorance, their occupational adjustability or lack of it, and their ability or inability to participate wisely in the determination of social policy. No state and no region that is concerned with its own safety and its own welfare can be indifferent to the educational opportunities afforded youth in those states and regions from which it will draw in large proportions its future citizens.

NEWTON EDWARDS. *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*. p. 136.

³¹ *Problems of a Changing Population*. p. 43, 55; U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Op. cit., p. 71.

³² For a discussion of the credit system involved in cotton culture, see T. J. Wooster, Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantations*.

³³ *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*. p. 10.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9-10. For a discussion of the problems of erosion in the South, see A. E. Parkins, *Southern Agriculture, in Culture in the South*. p. 52-79.

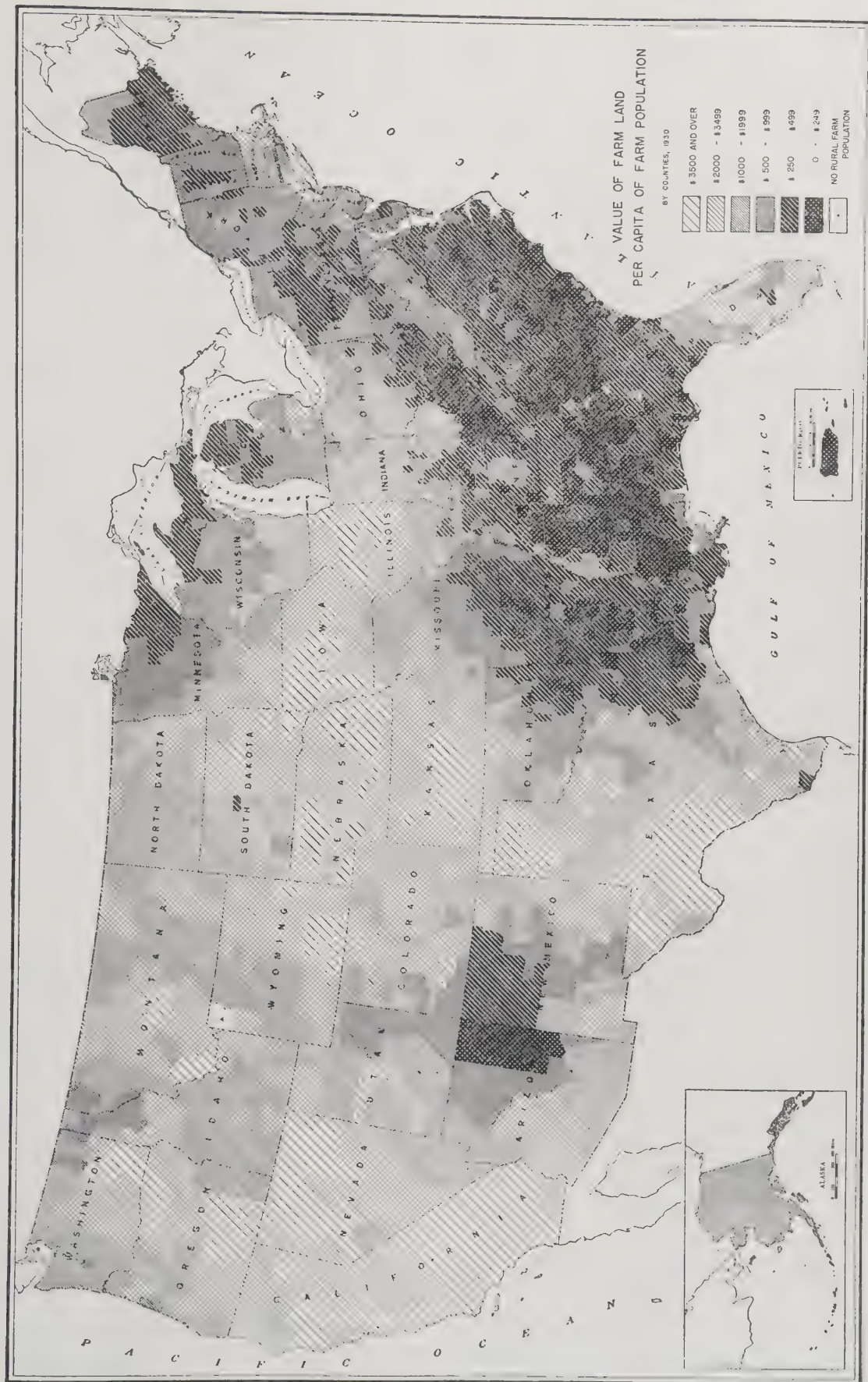


FIGURE 4.—Density of farm population by counties: value of farm land per capita of the farm population, 1930. From *Problems of a Changing Population*—National Resources Committee.

of other crops. It lends itself to a system of supervision and regimentation, as in plantation and tenancy, which calls for a maximum amount of hand labor much of which can be, and is, furnished by women and children. In prosperity cotton creates a vested interest in credit institutions to maintain it; in times of depression it enables failing farmers to continue in the cotton system by reaching to the lower levels of tenure; and at all times it encourages overspeculation, overexpansion, and overproduction. Finally, the crop is sold in a marketing system which the growers do not understand and over which they have little or no control.³⁸

The complex of factors known as cotton tenancy carries with it a long train of evils. More than a third of tenant families move every year. The tenant with no secure tenure has no incentive to protect the soil, to plant cover crops, or to keep buildings in repair. On the contrary he has every incentive to mine the soil for every possible penny of immediate cash returns. Tenancy is no longer a ladder by which men climb to ownership. Instead the tenant is now more likely to slip down to the sharecropper level in which he owns nothing but a few meager household furnishings. The landlord must often supply not only the necessary work animals and implements but must "furnish" the tenant at a commissary or at a local merchant's, usually for 6 or 7 months of the year. On this advance the cropper may pay 30 or 40 percent interest. When the cotton is sold, the advances made plus interest and often an "operating charge" are deducted from the amount received for the tenant's portion of the crop. Sometimes the tenant comes out with a little cash; often enough he does not break even and begins the next year with a debt.³⁹

The Negro cropper, and sometimes the white one, does not dare ask for an accounting other than the landlord's word. In some areas the annual earnings of share croppers ranged from \$38 to \$87 per person, an income of less than 25 cents a day. Farming in this sense is neither a business nor a way of life but a grim struggle to get a bare subsistence from land belonging to someone else. The sense of hopelessness and defeat of one such tenant was expressed in the words: "Hit aint no use, de man git it all anyway." Yet the number of ruined plantations and bankrupt owners suggest that the system itself is more often at fault than the individual owner or the helpless cropper who are alike its victims.⁴⁰

³⁸ Vance, Rupert B. *Human Geography of the South*. p. 193-94. See also Charles S. Johnson and others. *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*.

³⁹ In a study of several hundred plantations as operated in 1934 and 1937 it was found that even on government loans which were secured on more favorable terms than loans from other sources, operators paid an interest rate of almost 12 percent. The tenant, who is supplied by the operator, must pay two or three times as much interest, the average for the farmers studied being 36 percent on an annual basis in 1937. Such heavy charges increase the difficulty of the tenant in raising his economic status, and discourage crop diversification because the tenant must concentrate on the cash crop to meet his obligations.

Holley, William C., and others. *The Plantation South, 1934-37*.

The South, of course, is not all cotton farms and tenancy. Less than half of the total southern counties are predominantly cotton, and these are concentrated in the area extending from South Carolina to Oklahoma and Texas. However, cotton is the basic factor in the southern economy. Moreover, the tobacco region in Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky has suffered from many of the problems of the cotton region, for tobacco, too, is a cash crop dependent on an international market. In its social effects tobacco is much like cotton, as it has developed a system of tenancy, sharecropping, and "furnishing," together with dependence on the labor of women and children. The routine involved in growing tobacco is year round and so emphatic in its demands of hand labor as to have developed the folk saying that it takes 13 months a year to grow a tobacco crop.⁴¹

While the region in the main is rural and agricultural, there has been some movement toward urbanization and industrialization. In 1930, however, only 33.5 percent of the South was urban while in the Nation as a whole 56 percent of the population lived in cities. Within the South the percent of the population that was urban ranged from more than 50 in Delaware to less than 20 in Mississippi.⁴²

Industrialization in the South has spread from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia toward the Southwest. Tennessee and Alabama are farther along in the process of industrialization than Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, or Texas. Many of the industries which have moved South have done so because of low wages and lax labor laws. With the exception of those in the Birmingham region, most of the industries of the South are low-paid ones, and a large percent of the workers are in textile industries especially cotton manufacturing.⁴³

Income in the United States is highly concentrated in the Middle Atlantic and East North Central States. Eight of these States⁴⁴ comprised a little more than 13 percent of the land area of the Continental United States, had 42 percent of the population, and received approximately 55 percent of the aggregate money income of the American people in 1929. In contrast the South Atlantic and East South Central States had more than 15 percent of the land, 21 percent of the population, but only 11.7 percent of the income. If

⁴⁰ *Farm Tenancy*, Report of the President's Committee, February 1937. For a vivid description of the meaning of tenancy to the persons involved see Arthur Raper and Ira de A. Reid. *Share Croppers All*.

⁴¹ Vance. *Human Geography of the South*. p. 205-8. See also Woofert, T. J. *The Plight of Cigarette Tobacco*.

⁴² In the 1920's there was a strong cityward movement producing rapid urban growth. In 1931-32 as the trough of the depression was approached, there was a backward trek toward the abandoned farms. Murchison, op. cit., p. 96.

⁴³ Other industries in the South are chiefly lumbering, tobacco, iron and steel, cotton seed oil, chemicals, and furniture with recent progress in ceramics, cement, and paper. See Broadus Mitchell's *A Survey of Industry in Culture in the South*. p. 80-90; and Claudius T. Murchison's *King Cotton is Sick*. This designation does not apply to Maryland and Delaware.

⁴⁴ New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin.

the West South Central States of Louisiana and Arkansas be substituted for Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, these 12 Southern States comprised 18 percent of the land area, 21.5 percent of the population, but only 10.9 percent of the national income. These States contain half of the Negro population of America and half of the tenant farmers.⁴⁵

In 1929 the per capita personal income in the United States was \$750, but in the South Atlantic States it was \$466 and in the East South Central States was \$344. The West South Central States came up to \$476. When individual States are considered, the contrasts are even greater. In New York, New Jersey, the District of Columbia, and California the per capita income was more than \$1,000, while in Mississippi it was \$287 and in South Carolina \$261. In Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Alabama it was less than \$350. The per capita farm income in these States dropped even lower. In South Carolina it was \$129, while in 10 other Southern States it fell below \$200.⁴⁶

Even if allowance is made for possible differences in cost of living, the average per capita income in 10 of the Southern States is less than half the corresponding average for the rest of the country. So great a difference in money income must necessarily carry with it a significant difference in real income in a country so closely integrated, economically, as is the United States, in which a large proportion of the necessities and satisfactions of life are supplied by organizations which operate on a national scale.⁴⁷ It should be noted that the low figures of the Southern States are for 1929, before the period of economic depression. They serve to emphasize the fact that the economic disadvantages of the South are of long standing. Studies made by Carter Goodrich and others indicate that the depression

has not brought about any great change in the regional distribution of American wealth.⁴⁸

Regional Problems and Human Welfare

These various regional factors add up to a depressing total, for they mean that the South is the poorest section of the Nation. The States may be ranked by value of real property, per capita income, income from salaries and wages and from sale of property, bank deposits, value added by manufacture, and numerous other indices. The relative positions of individual Southern States may change slightly with the index used, but nothing alters the fact that the States of the deep South stay at the bottom of the list. In almost any economic, educational, or cultural index at least 9 of the 11 States of the Southeast will be found in the lowest quartile, if not at the bottom of the total list of States.

The human cost of the South's economic deprivation can be summed up in terms of diet deficiency, lowered vitality, inadequate housing, poor schools, and a general level of living that is a danger to our national welfare. In the rural areas of the Southeast cash crop farming leaves little time or incentive for crop diversification, the raising of food stuffs, or the keeping of chickens and livestock. As a consequence the diet of salt pork, corn meal, and molasses results in diet deficiency and disease. Hookworm, malaria, pellagra, and vitamin starvation take their toll not only in deaths and days lost from illness but in the general lowering of vitality and a lack of energy and initiative that too often has been laid to willful laziness and inefficiency.⁴⁹

The areas of tenancy are those in which there is a high rate of illiteracy, due in part to short term schools and to the fact that children are kept at home to do farm work. The field work of women and children; the constant moving and consequent lack of any feeling that one belongs to a community; the lack of any sense of ownership or stake in the land; the almost incredible poverty—all these factors add together to produce an appalling cost in human life and welfare.

The relatively fewer doctors and nurses, the lack of hospital facilities, the low per capita expenditure for dental and medical care, and the generally low level of living of many of the people of the poorest areas of the South make the health problems of the region acute both in cities and in rural areas.⁵⁰

Houses in the rural South are the oldest, have the lowest value, and have the greatest need of repairs of any farmhouses in the United States. A survey of 3 million farmhouses in 14 Southern States in 1930

⁴⁵ Leven, Maurice, and others. *America's Capacity to Consume*. p. 38-39.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 173, table 17. The personal income includes income from the sale of property and imputed rent on owned homes. It excludes imputed incomes from durable consumption goods other than homes.

⁴⁷ Heer. *Op. cit.*, p. 56. The research done on cost of living in various areas suggests that the differences are not so much due to variations in cost as in levels of living. Some items, notably rent, vary but most of the consumer's dollar goes for goods that are nationally produced at standard prices.

Incomes and wages in the South have been considerably below the average obtaining in the rest of the country for upwards of sixty years. Until comparatively recently, the effects of this condition were mainly local and excited little outside attention. This is no longer the case. The new industry of the South is part and parcel of a larger economy, and the comparative level of southern wages has accordingly become a matter of Nation-wide concern.

CLARENCE HEER. *Income and Wages in the South*. p. 3.

⁴⁸ Goodrich, Carter, and others. *Migration and Economic Opportunity*. P. 35.

⁴⁹ For an excellent description of the effect of cotton culture on the daily activities of people see Rupert Vance's *The Profile of Southern Culture in Culture in the South*. P. 24-39.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of health differentials see the National Resources Committee. *Problems of a Changing Population*. P. 166-192.

showed that less than 6 percent had water piped to the house. More than half were unpainted. A third of southern farmhouses had no screens, and a fifth had no toilets of any kind. It is in such areas that hookworm and consequent anemia are prevalent as a result of soil pollution.

The National Emergency Council estimates that at least two and a half million southern houses are below standard. There is a general lack of sanitary equipment and modern conveniences both in rural areas and in the poorer sections of southern cities.⁵¹

Some indication of the generally low plane of living in the South, from the standpoint of material welfare, is seen in the Plane of Living Index which Carter Goodrich worked out on the basis of income tax returns, residence telephones, and radios. There is, of course, no claim that these particular items represent the essentials of the good life. It is a striking fact, however, that a map based on this Plane of Living Index shows a high degree of correspondence with maps based on wages and earnings, or retail sales per capita, and negatively with the density of farm population or the degree of farm tenancy. In general the only southern counties ranking high in the Plane of Living Index are either industrial or urban, and, as would be expected, the heaviest concentration of low ranking counties appear in the 11 States of the Southeast.⁵²

There are not only fewer radios and telephones in the South, but fewer automobiles, fewer books and magazines, and fewer public libraries. Libraries, bookstores, rental libraries, magazines, and daily newspapers in general follow the same distribution pattern. In a study made in 1931 the circulation of 47 national magazines per 1,000 population for the United States was reported to be 312. Of the Southern States, only Delaware and Florida reached this number, and 7 Southern States had less than half the national average. Except for school textbooks, the Southern States are the lowest book market in the country.⁵³ This situation, like numerous others, is of long standing, and the effect is cumulative.

In terms of public library service the South is again found at the bottom of the scale. For the United States as a whole library service was available in 1934 for 63.24 percent of the total population. There were, however, wide areas in which there were no public libraries. Approximately 45,000,000 Americans—more than a third of the Nation—were in counties in which no public libraries were available. One-half of these people were in the Southeast and Southwest although

these regions contain only about one-third of the Nation's population. With the exception of Delaware and Maryland, no Southern State had more than 45 percent of its population residing in local library districts, and 7 of the Southern States had not more than 12 to 35 percent of their people in reach of libraries.⁵⁴

The per capita expenditures for library service show a similar pattern. The per capita expenditure for the United States in 1934 was 37 cents, the highest State figure being \$1.08 for Massachusetts. If Delaware and Maryland are excluded, the per capita expenditures for the remaining 14 Southern States range from 2 cents in Arkansas and Mississippi to 13 cents in Florida.⁵⁵ The library volumes per capita in the various States follow much the same pattern as that of the annual expenditure.

One of the major deficiencies of the South is the poor educational opportunity of the children. This factor is related not only to lower economic ability but also to the ratio of productive adults to dependent children. The birth rate declines rapidly as the level of living rises in all regions of the United States. The Southeast ranks high in fertility and low in economic indices. The ratio of children of elementary school age per 1,000 adults varies from 523 in South Carolina, and 491 in North Carolina to 225 in California and 254 in New York. Thus the Southern States with the highest ratios of children to adults carry, in regard to child care and education, a load which is from 70 to almost 100 percent higher than the States with lowest ratios.⁵⁶

The relative ability of the States to support education has been the subject of various studies. By any measure used the Southern States are found to have the most children to educate in proportion to productive adults or to wealth of any kind. The National Resources Board reports the following distribution of the Nation's children (5-17) in comparison with the distribution of national income:⁵⁷

Region	Percent of Nation's children	Percent of Nation's income
Northeast.....	29.66	42.93
Middle States.....	26.06	28.38
Northwest.....	6.26	4.59
Far West.....	5.48	8.87
Southeast.....	24.41	10.01
Southwest.....	8.13	5.22

For the country as a whole the average school expenditure per person aged 5-17 in 1930 was \$58. According to one estimate, if each of the States had attempted to reach this national level 8 of the Southern States would

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13-14, 43. The figures include Negroes though the fact that Negroes are in a library district by no means indicates availability.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 72. See also Louis R. Wilson and Edward A. Wright. *County Library Service in the South*.

⁵³ *Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 136-37, 201. Paul Mort says that to provide equal educational opportunity the poorest States would have to carry nearly four times the load of the average State. *Federal Support of Public Education*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 207. These regions are the ones used in Odum's *Southern Regions* in which Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and the District of Columbia are included in the Northeast. The Southwest includes New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and Oklahoma.

⁵¹ *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*, p. 34-35. Great advances have been made since 1935 in rural electrification. For the effect of electric power on farm life see, *Farmers in a Changing World*. P. 790-810.

⁵² Goodrich, Carter, and others. *Op. cit.*, ch. I. The Plane of Living Index used in the county analysis of the present study was based on a larger number of factors but the general picture remained the same.

⁵³ Louis Round Wilson makes clear the fact that economic ability is a significant factor in library development; and that, in general, areas which are most seriously lacking in library service are those having least to spend for it. *The Geography of Reading*. P. 230-47; 408-12.

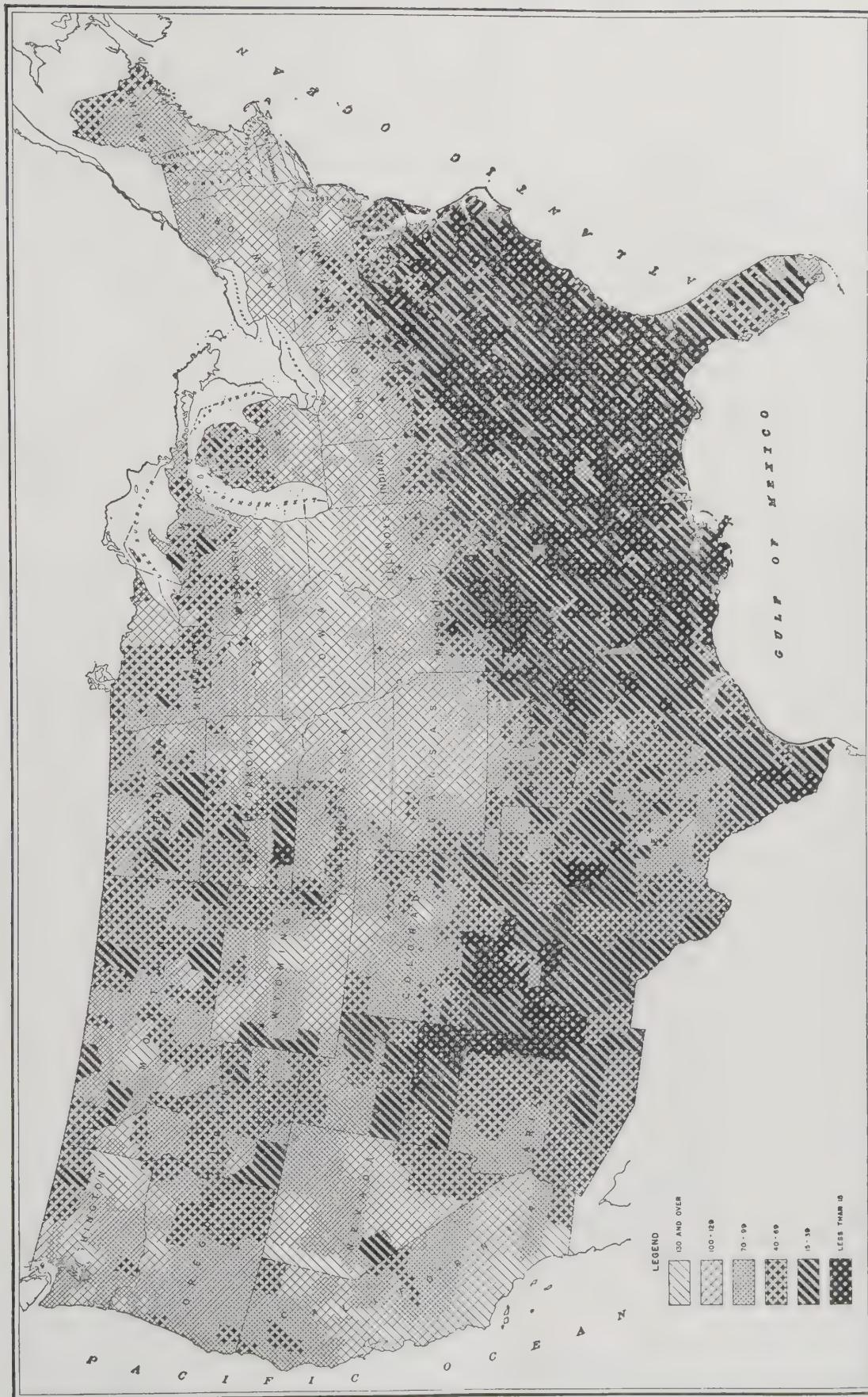


FIGURE 5.—Plane of living, 1928-29. Adapted from Goodrich and others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (University of Pennsylvania Press). From *Problems of a Changing Population—National Resources Committee*.

have had to use 100 percent of their total available tax resources, while in 8 of the States outside the South less than 30 percent of their tax resources would have been required. Even though a model tax plan were put into effect, the poorer States would be unable to support their schools adequately. In many States it would require all or more than all the taxes that could be raised under a model plan to provide an amount equal to the national average of expenditure per child of school age. With one exception every State which would require 75 percent or more of its taxes to meet the national level is in the South.⁵⁸

The significance of the facts just cited is made more apparent when a comparison is made of the current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in 1930 with the expenditure in 1938. In 1930 the average annual per capita expenditure for all States was \$86.70. In 1938 the amount was \$83.87. In both 1930 and in 1938 Delaware was the only State in the South to reach this national average, and, moreover, in both years 7 out of the 16 Southern States averaged less than half the national per capita expenditure.⁵⁹

The problem of education in the South is made more difficult because of the large percent of the population in rural areas. Speaking of the country as a whole, Lorimer and Osborn estimate that if rural children were to receive educational advantages equal to those enjoyed by the average city child, the tax burden for educational purposes would have to be at least 50 percent higher for the average rural adult than for the average city dweller.⁶⁰ In the Northern States the average density of the rural school population is comparatively small but it is largely concentrated in the better economic regions. In the South the effective density is still further decreased by the provision of separate schools for white and Negro children.

In his *Federal Support for Public Education*, Paul R. Mort has taken into account such factors as sparsity of the school population and differences in cost of living as factors in determining units of educational need for the various States. Each State's percentage of the United States' total taxpaying ability was then used to find that State's index of ability to support schools in terms of the cost of providing a minimum or foundation program for its total units of educational need. According to this Index, Delaware and Maryland exceed the United States' index of 1.00 while Florida, Texas, and Oklahoma are the only other Southern States which exceed half the national index. The 11 other Southern States occupy the lowest 11 places in the total list of

States, their indices ranging from 0.24 in South Carolina to 0.45 in Kentucky.⁶¹

The public schools of the South show the effect of these regional differentials in cultural standards and economic ability. Whether one takes teachers' salaries, per capita expenditures, the percentage of total school enrollment in high school, or the length of the school term, the schools of the South fall far below the average of the Nation, with the Negro schools struggling far behind the white schools in almost any given area.⁶²

In 1937-38, the average length of term for all schools in the United States was 173.9 days. The children of 12 Southern States had average terms shorter than the average of the Nation, and in 7 of these States the children attended from 7 to 31 days less than the children of the Nation as a whole. Eleven States in the Nation had average school terms of 180 days or longer. The children of the State with the longest term (186.9 days) had 44.5 days more of schooling than the children in the State with the shortest term (142.4 days).⁶³

Perhaps the most serious indictment that can be brought against the American school system is its failure to provide equality of educational opportunity. In a country of such vast extent and of great regional differences in economic and cultural patterns, absolute equality of educational opportunity is not to be expected. But the existing differences in opportunity are not slight; they are so great as to constitute a threat to the whole fabric of American democratic institutions . . . If the American educational system is to be made to serve the interests and needs of the people, some means must be found to extend its advantages more uniformly to the children of the Nation.

NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE. *Problems of a Changing Population*. p. 194.

Current expenditure per pupil enrolled in the schools of the United States averaged \$76.39 for 1937-38. But while California, Massachusetts, Nevada, New York, New Jersey, and the District of Columbia spent more than \$100 for each pupil enrolled, 6 Southern States spent less than \$35 for each pupil enrolled. Delaware

⁵⁸ *Problems of a Changing Population*. p. 216-19. See also John Kelly Norton. *Wealth, Children, and Education*.

⁵⁹ U. S. Office of Education, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38*. p. 38-39. These figures do not include interest.

⁶⁰ Lorimer, Frank, and Osborn, Frederick. *Dynamics of Population*. p. 37.

According to Newton Edwards, the farm population of the Nation carries an educational load four and one-half times as great as that of the non-farm population, i. e., for every \$1 of income behind the education of the farm child in 1930, there was \$4.44 behind the non-farm child. *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*. p. 105.

⁶¹ Mort, Paul R. Op. cit., p. 232.

Mort defines a foundation program as a minimum level of education below which no community is permitted to go, but on which any community may build. Educational need is defined as the cost of a given foundation program of education. p. 18, 28. Other studies on the subject of the relative ability of the States to finance education are: Chism, Lellie L. *The Economic Ability of States to Finance Public Schools*; Norton, John Kelly and Norton, Margaret Alltucker. *Wealth, Children, and Education*; Edwards, Newton. *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*.

⁶² U. S. Department of the Interior. Office of Education. *Statistics of State school systems. In Biennial Survey of Education, 1934-36. And Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38*.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38*. P. 89-90.

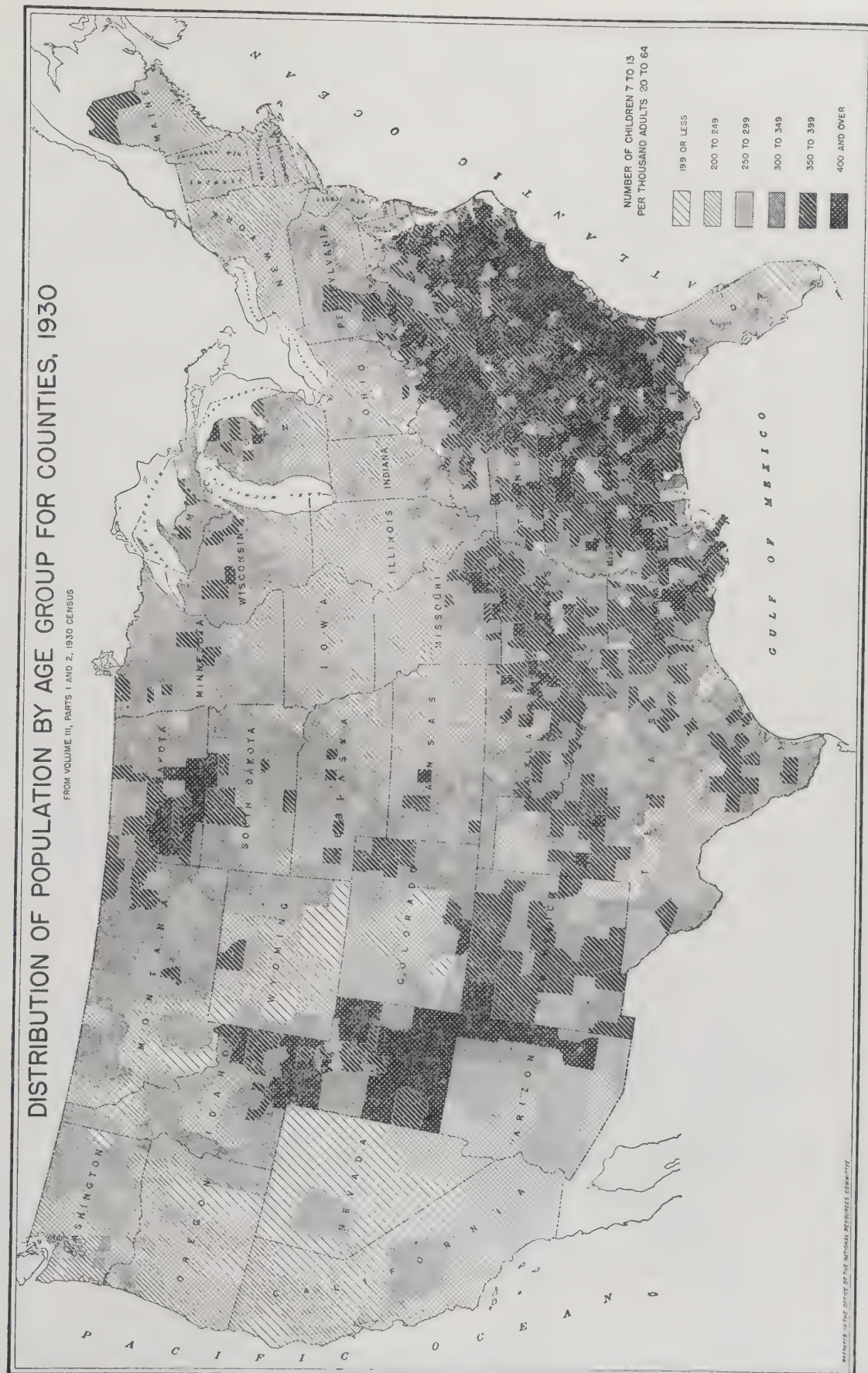


FIGURE 6.—Number of children 7-13 per 1,000 adults aged 20-64, by counties, 1930. From *Problems of a Changing Population*—National Resources Committee.

exceeded the national average and Maryland approximated it. No other Southern State came within \$15 of the national average.⁶⁴

These figures refer to the total school population of the South. If the Negro and white populations are taken separately, the white children are seen to have a somewhat better opportunity than the total southern figures indicate, but they are still far below the national average. The Negro children, as will be shown in more detail later, have much shorter terms, lower teachers' salaries, and about one-third the per capita expenditures of southern white children.

In the higher institutions of the South there is the same lag. In a region in which the best minds and major research funds should be applied to the solution of fundamental problems, there are few universities of the first rank. Odum says,

It borders on monotony to repeat that the Southeast has no university or college of agriculture or engineering school of the first rank, and affords no advanced instruction of the highest order in many of the subjects now demanded in the newer developments in politics, business, agriculture, industry, land utilization. The teaching load of faculty members is about a third heavier and salaries about a third less than for the best of the Nation's colleges and universities. So, too, in terms of the highest degree less than 50 percent of the faculties hold the doctor's degree compared with about 75 percent of the corresponding schools elsewhere.⁶⁵

In recent years there has been some hopeful development in the way of outstanding university centers in the South, particularly in terms of graduate work. Yet, as Professor Knight points out, a large graduate school in the East probably confers in one year as many graduate degrees, if not more, than are conferred by all the institutions in the Southern States which are attempting to give graduate instruction.⁶⁶

In college libraries the South is about one-fourth as well equipped as the rest of the Nation. Whether in volumes or in expenditure per capita, the Southern States lag far behind. The Northeast, far West, and Northwest all have at least twice as many volumes per capita as the Southeast or Southwest. The University of Illinois and the University of Michigan each expended for books in 1927-28 more money than the combined expenditures of the State universities of 9 Southern States. Harvard alone expended in that year more money for books than was spent for the same purpose by the universities of 11 Southern States. Harvard has twice as many books as the State universities of these 11 States and in 1929-30 it added to its already huge collection more books than 3 of the Southern State universities have collected since their establishment.⁶⁷

Acting as both cause and effect of this cultural poverty is the drain outside the South of its best trained persons and the failure to attract equally well-trained persons from elsewhere. Wilson Gee, in his *Research Barriers in the South*, found that 45 percent of the southern born social scientists listed in *Who's Who in America, 1930-31*, were located outside the South. He found evidence, also, that the scientists who leave the region are more often superior in their respective fields than are those who come into the South from other areas.⁶⁸

This drain is accounted for, in part at least, by two different factors. On the one hand the lack of superior graduate facilities makes it necessary for many students to do their graduate work outside the South, and there is a strong tendency for those who train outside the South to remain out of it in much larger proportions than those who secure their training within the region. The other factor lies in the superior opportunities offered for teaching and research outside the South. Reference has already been made to the generally poorer library facilities in the southern universities. In addition to this handicap, Mr. Gee found that on the average the southern professor carried a 30 percent heavier teaching load at one-third less salary than his colleagues in the North and West.⁶⁹ With lack of leisure, research facilities, and opportunity for creative activity, even the superior person is almost hopelessly handicapped in the effort to stimulate students or to do the research essential to a solution of the problems of a region already backward in its agricultural, industrial, economic, and social development.

Progress has been made in recent years, but it must be remembered that the effects of cultural deprivations long outlast the situations which produce them. Poor schools in one generation project their evils into the next in the form of ignorance and cultural poverty. Income and wages in the South have been below the national average for 60 years and there has been a corresponding lag in educational services and other cultural opportunities. Moreover, progress must be measured in relative terms. For example, school expenditures for both white and Negro children have increased in the South in recent years, but the national average has increased almost as rapidly so that the relative opportunity has not greatly changed.

The etching in of the more somber aspects of southern life is neither to ignore the signs of progress nor to take a defeatist attitude. The hope of any solution of the problems of the South lies in a recognition of their complexity and in an understanding of basic causes. Southerners, themselves, can do a great deal toward solving their problems but they are no less a matter

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 134.

⁶⁵ Odum. *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁶⁶ Knight, Edgar W. Recent Progress and Problems of Education, in *Culture in the South*. P. 219.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 216.

⁶⁸ Gee, Wilson. *Research Barriers in the South*. P. 22-35. Mr. Gee uses "the South" to include 14 States. Maryland and Delaware are excluded.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 79-81.

of national responsibility and concern. As one able student of the South has written, "The handicaps of the South are not inherent in the geographic and biological scheme of things. They partake of the nature of historical accidents and economic blunderings; they are amenable to science and social engineering; and they may be overcome."⁷⁰

The Negro as a Minority Group in a Handicapped Region

In the preceding sections of this chapter major consideration has been given to the special regional problems of the South without respect to the racial groups involved. Negroes are a part of this picture. In the main they do not control the situation, and yet it provides the milieu in which their lives are set. Their problems cannot be solved apart from the region, for they are victims of its economic deficiency and cultural lag. In addition they have superimposed upon these regional handicaps the special deprivations of their own subordinate position.

In general the Negro's minority group position affects him in at least five major ways. It restricts his economic and occupational opportunity; it limits his education; it either excludes him from other civic

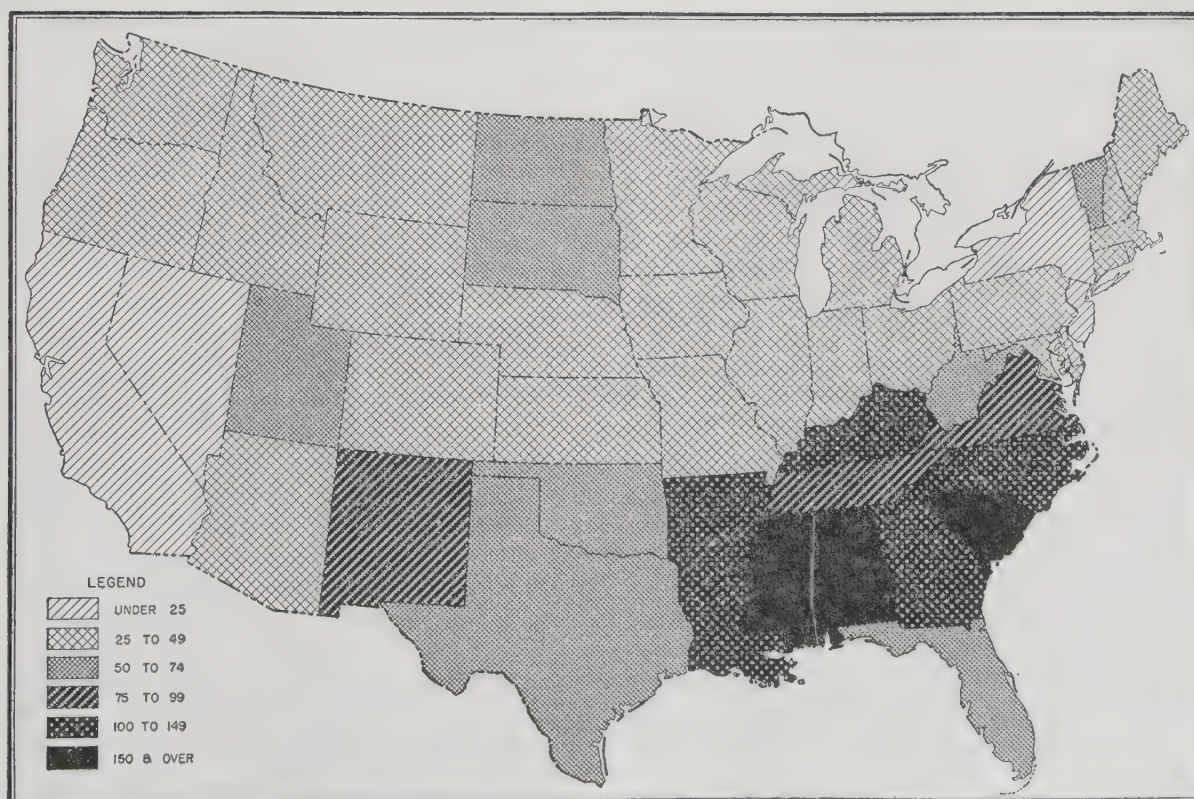
benefits and cultural opportunities or permits him only an inferior sort; it places restrictions upon his social mobility; and it lays upon him like a heavy hand the inhibiting stigma of inferiority. In these broad ways the Negro finds himself hemmed in both through the exterior force exerted by the dominant group, and by his own habits and attitudes resulting in large measure from the enveloping pressure of his continued low status.

It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that the Negro found two types of economic opportunity open

Disguise the truth as we may, throw the blame where we will, on the twin calamities of the Civil War and the tragic era of Reconstruction, on the predominantly rural character of the South, on the presence of the Negro, on real or fancied poverty, on the climate—that is, on geography and therefore on God—no matter how we seek to excuse our deficiencies, these remain obvious to even the most casual observer. And whatever the cause of the backwardness of the South in education, the affliction itself stifles industry, represses effort, discourages enterprise, weakens the desire for excellence, and makes us satisfied with second-rate achievements.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT. *Culture in the South*.
p. 225.

⁷⁰ Vance, Rupert B. *The Profile of Southern Culture in Culture in the South*. p. 35.



Prepared in Office of the National Resources Committee

FIGURE 7.—Percentage of tax resources of each State (as estimated by Newcomer) needed to provide amount for education equal to the national average (\$68 per child 5-17 years), by States, 1930.

to him, that of business or professional service within his own group and that of employment within the white world. The Negro business or professional man can usually serve only his own race, and the low economic level of most Negro people make adequate business and professional incomes difficult to earn. Furthermore, unless the Negro leaves the South he can often secure only a second rate professional training. The Negro lawyer is at a disadvantage in cases involving white persons, and local libraries are usually closed to him. The Negro teacher faces the same difficulty with reference to training and library facilities. Negro physicians are not generally permitted the use of hospitals and seldom are able to avail themselves of the usual consultation service of other doctors. Under such conditions the maintenance of satisfactory professional standards becomes very difficult.⁷¹

The effect of this restriction on the business and professional enterprises of Negroes is seen in the limited opportunity for white-collar and skilled occupations within the Negro economy. The number of clerks, stenographers, salespersons, and other such workers which can be employed by Negro business and professional men is very small. Furthermore, when the Negro works within the white world he is usually restricted to jobs of an unskilled or semi-skilled nature. Almost nowhere in the United States are Negroes generally accepted in white-collar occupations except in Negro concerns. Salespersons, clerks, stenographers, and bookkeepers who work for white employers are almost invariably white. These facts indicate clearly that outside the limited opportunity within his own group, the Negro's occupational ceiling is very low.

Throughout the country, and especially in the South, there are numerous industries in which Negroes are generally unable to secure any kind of employment. The Negro has found employment in the tobacco industry, and Negroes usually are to be found in large numbers in the iron and steel industries. However, the Negro worker is often kept at the lowest paid jobs in whatever industry he is employed. In many cases the Negro worker fills the same type of job and does the same quality of work as the white employee but the jobs are called by different names and the Negro is paid a smaller wage.

The Negro's occupational handicaps have been increased by the fact that usually he has been excluded from the ranks of organized labor. When Negroes first went north in large numbers their entrance into the industrial world was opposed by organized labor. They were refused entrance to most unions, and this fact, combined with certain traditional habits, led the

Negro worker into the role of scab and strike breaker. He was generally excluded from unions in the South. Certain unions have been more liberal than others in accepting Negroes and in some cases Negroes have worked out separate organizations. In recent years there has been a disposition on the part of both white and Negro workers in some situations, even in the South, to make common cause of their disadvantaged position. On the whole, however, Negroes have been outside the ranks of organized labor, and have suffered the disadvantages of their lack of organization.⁷²

The various arbitrary limitations on the Negro's freedom of occupational choice have been reinforced by the generally low level of education and skill in the Negro group. The situation is one of circular reinforcement; that is, the artificial limitations hold the Negro back, and his backwardness is used to justify the limitations.

While the depression years affected Negroes more adversely than the white population,⁷³ there is generally a larger proportion of the Negro than the white population gainfully employed. In 1930 more than 59 percent of Negroes 10 years of age and over were employed, while only 47 percent of the white population of the same age were listed as gainful workers. This differential has important social consequences in that the high figure of Negro employment is due to the large number of women and children who are engaged in such occupations as agriculture, and domestic and personal service.⁷⁴

Of the more than 5½ million Negroes employed in 1930, more than one-third (36.1 percent) were in agriculture. A fourth and more of the total (28.6 percent) were engaged in domestic and personal service. Manufacturing and mechanical industries employed 8.6 percent of the Negro workers; 7.2 percent were in transportation and communication; 3.3 percent were in trade; and 2.5 percent were in professional service.

The largest single occupation of the Negro worker in the North was that of domestic and personal service followed by mining and manufacturing. In the South agriculture came first with domestic and personal service as the second largest occupational group. While Negroes comprised less than 10 percent of the total population of the United States in 1930 they furnished nearly a third of all the domestic and personal servants of the Nation (31.8 percent). In the South more than two-thirds of all domestic and personal servants were Negroes (67.6 percent) and these workers

⁷¹ For a discussion of the membership and participation of Negroes in learned and professional societies see Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro College Graduate*, p. 352-53.

⁷² The Negro's occupational handicaps, and his relation to organized labor are described by Sterling S. Spero and Abram L. Harris in *The Black Worker*; Charles H. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States, 1860-1925*; in Herman Feldman's *Racial Factors in American Industry*.

A more recent treatment is found in *The Black Worker and the New Unions* by Horace Cayton and George S. Mitchell.

⁷³ A discussion of the economic effects of the depression on Negroes is found in Charles S. Johnson's *The Economic Status of Negroes*.

⁷⁴ Unless otherwise indicated figures are from the 1930 U. S. Census—Negroes in the United States.

represented nearly one-fourth (24.1 percent) of all southern employed Negroes.

There were in 1930 approximately 883,000 Negro farm operators in the United States, 98.7 percent of whom were in the South. More than three-fourths of all the farms operated by Negroes were classified as cotton farms, 7.5 percent as crop specialty (mostly tobacco), and 7.3 percent as abnormal farms (mostly part-time farms). Of the total Negro farm operators in the United States, only 15.8 percent were full owners of their farms; another 4.7 percent were part owners. Thus more than 79 percent of all the Negro farm operators were tenants in 1930, and on these tenant farms were approximately 3 million Negroes. In the South nearly one-half of all Negro farm operators were sharecroppers.⁷⁵

The evils of the sharecropper system and the economic and cultural poverty of the sharecropper have been described in an earlier section. The Negro here, as elsewhere, suffers all the deprivations of his white coworker plus those imposed because of race. In the *Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* the authors speaking of cotton tenants as a whole write,

The mobility of the tenant, his dependence, his lack of ambition, shiftlessness, his ignorance and poverty, the lethargy of his pellagra-ridden body, provide a ready excuse for keeping him under a stern paternalistic control. There is not a single trait alleged which, where true, does not owe its source and continuance to the imposed status itself.⁷⁶

It should be noted that occupational classification does not necessarily indicate the status of the Negro worker. For example, persons employed in trade, transportation, or manufacturing may be either unskilled and poorly paid workers or they may be highly skilled and well paid. When the workers are divided into social-economic groups the status of the worker is more clearly revealed. Alba M. Edwards in *A Social-economic Grouping of Gainful Workers of the United States*,⁷⁷ separates the workers into six groups: (1) Professional persons; (2) proprietors, managers, and officials (includes farm owners and tenants but not farm laborers); (3) clerks and kindred skilled workers; (4) skilled workers and foremen; (5) semi-skilled workers; and (6) unskilled workers.

According to this grouping, the native white, foreign-born white, and Negroes were distributed as follows:⁷⁸

Occupational grouping	Native white	Foreign-born white	Negro
Professional persons.....	7.2	3.9	2.1
Proprietors, managers, and officials.....	21.0	17.0	16.9
Clerks and kindred workers.....	20.2	9.9	1.5
Skilled workers and foremen.....	13.3	18.6	3.2
Semi-skilled workers.....	16.5	21.5	9.4
Unskilled workers.....	21.9	29.1	66.9

It is important to note that the Negroes in the class of proprietors, managers, and officials are almost all farmers, either owners or tenants. It is of very great significance that whereas only a little more than one-fifth of all native white workers are in the unskilled group, more than two-thirds of the Negroes were in this classification.⁷⁹ If the Negro farm owners and tenants be considered manual workers, then, in 1930 more than 95 out of each 100 of the total Negro workers were engaged in manual work; and if the 392,897 Negro croppers be considered unskilled—as they undoubtedly were in most cases—then almost three-fourths of all Negro workers (74.1 percent) were in the unskilled group.⁸⁰

The greatest number of Negro professional workers are either ministers or teachers. In 1930 there were in the United States more than 25,000 Negro clergymen (1 to each 475 Negroes in the population), and more than 54,000 Negro school teachers (1 to each 218 Negroes in the population). There were approximately 10,500 Negro music teachers, 5,700 trained nurses, 3,800 physicians and surgeons, 2,145 college presidents and professors, 1,775 dentists, and 1,250 lawyers, judges, and justices. Approximately nine-tenths of the teachers, four-fifths of the clergymen, two-thirds of the nurses, physicians, and surgeons were in the South. Of the more than 2,000 college presidents and professors, fewer than 200 resided outside the South. On the other hand only about a third of the music teachers and lawyers were in the South, and less than half the dentists.⁸¹

Whatever his occupational classification the Negro is usually paid less than white persons in the same occupational class.⁸² This differential is minimized in the North. It is significant in the South. The National Resources Committee's report on consumer incomes showed that white non-relief families in southern rural communities had in 1935-36 an average income of \$1,535. Negro non-relief families averaged \$566. In southern cities of 2,500 or more population, the white families averaged \$2,019, and the Negro families \$635. In North Central cities of 100,000 and over the average for white families was \$2,616, and for Negro families \$1,227.⁸³ These differentials in average incomes have important effects on the general standard and levels of living of the Negro population, particularly in the South where the income for the average white family is approximately three times that of its Negro neighbors.

⁷⁹ See Ira De A. Reid. *The Urban Negro Worker in the United States, 1925-36*, vol. I, p. 112-114.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 14. Edwards points out that in the period from 1910 to 1930 the Negro professional persons, proprietors, managers, and officials (other than foremen), together with skilled workers and foremen increased considerably in relative importance.

⁸¹ Negroes in the United States, p. 287-93; Woodson, Carter G. *The Negro Professional Man and the Community*.

⁸² For a discussion of the earnings of Negro college graduates see Charles S. Johnson's *The Negro College Graduate*, ch. VII.

⁸³ National Resources Committee. *Consumer incomes in the United States: Their distribution in 1935-36*. p. 28.

⁷⁵ Charles S. Johnson, and others. *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*. p. 6-7.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 21-22.

⁷⁷ U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *A social-economic grouping of gainful workers of the United States*. By Alba M. Edwards. p. 2.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

In addition to the economic and occupational restrictions placed upon him, the Negro finds himself seriously handicapped in his effort to secure an education. The limitations of the separate Negro public school is treated in detail in a later section. It need be said here only that in the region of separate schools the Negro child receives, on the average, a little more than a third of the school funds allotted the white child; his school term is often from 1 to 3 months shorter than the term for white children; and his teachers are paid lower salaries than white teachers of comparable training. While the number of high schools for Negroes has increased very rapidly in recent decades there are still many areas in which no high-school facilities are available.⁸⁴

In a study of two typical black belt counties Arthur Raper found that in 80 or more percent of the rural Negro schools the pupils had no desks but used church pews or benches which necessitated their holding books and writing materials in their laps.⁸⁵ Throughout the South there are thousands of 1-room schools for Negroes. Other thousands of schools are held in churches, lodge halls, or abandoned shacks. Transportation to consolidated schools is generally lacking for Negro children, and school equipment is often wholly inadequate or nonexistent.⁸⁶

The lack of adequate educational facilities has serious social and economic consequences. The short term of the rural school results in retardation and an excessive piling up of pupils in the lower grades. Of the population on relief in the eastern cotton area in October 1935, 1 in 4 white heads of households, and only 1 in 25 of the Negro heads of households had advanced beyond the seventh grade in school.⁸⁷

The educational disadvantages of Negroes persist on the higher educational level. The colleges for Negroes were developed, for the most part, without any special plan as to location or function.⁸⁸ Even the State-supported Negro institution rarely has a plant or other equipment approximating that of white institutions in the same State. Not only State but Federal funds have been unequally distributed.⁸⁹

Not only is the inferior educational institution a handicap to the Negro, the low economic status of

Negroes in general makes more difficult the financing of a college education. Approximately 48 percent of the college graduates studied by Charles S. Johnson came from families in the manual labor group, largely unskilled. Other studies showed that about 40 percent of the students from two leading Negro institutions came from families who were engaged in manual labor. In contrast, about 5 percent of the students in white liberal arts colleges were found to come from families in the manual labor group. This economic limitation of Negro families (about 95 percent of employed Negroes are engaged in manual labor) means not only that fewer Negro students go to college but that those who do go must devote a great deal of time to self-support unless financial aid of some kind is provided.⁹⁰

Graduate instruction in Negro institutions is of recent development. Recognized instruction at the graduate level began at Howard University in 1921. In 1938-39, 7 institutions for Negroes in the Southern States offered graduate work. Of these institutions 3 were public, 3 private, and 1 church affiliated. In 1938 9 Southern States had made no provision for the graduate and professional education of Negroes. The 7 States which had made such provision depended for the most part on scholarships for study outside the State, or on the addition of a few graduate courses to the curricula of existing institutions for Negroes.⁹¹ While this situation is rapidly changing, the social consequences of such an educational lack are projected far beyond the date at which the lack is overcome.

Furthermore, the demand for graduate instruction continues to increase more rapidly than provision is made for meeting the need. This disequilibrium grows out of the rapid rise in the general educational level of the Negro population and the increase in the number of Negro college graduates which determine the numbers of Negroes prepared for graduate training. So rapid has been the rate of increase in Negro college graduates that during the 11-year period from 1926 to 1936 more Negroes graduated from college than in the entire 100-year period prior to 1926.⁹²

The Negro's minority group position affects not only his formal educational opportunity but also his civic opportunity and his access to cultural facilities. In the region in which the majority of Negroes live they are generally excluded from libraries, museums, and art galleries. Only rarely are separate services provided, and these are usually of an inferior sort. Ac-

⁸⁴ For information regarding the special problems of elementary and secondary education for Negroes see the following studies: United States Department of the Interior. Office of Education. *Availability of Education to Negroes in Rural Counties*. By Ambrose Caliver. (Bulletin, 1935, No. 12.)

———. *Fundamentals in the Education of Negroes*. By Ambrose Caliver. (Bulletin, 1935, No. 6.)

———. *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes*. By Ambrose Caliver. (Bulletin, 1937, No. 38.)

⁸⁵ Raper, Arthur. Preface to *Peasantry*. Ch. XVI-XVII.

⁸⁶ For a discussion of these problems see Doxey Wilkerson. *Special Problems of Negro Education*. See also Clark Foreman. *Environmental Factors in Negro Education* and Horace Mann Bond. *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*.

⁸⁷ Holley, William C. *The Plantation South*. From June 1933 through June 1935 more than a half million persons in 12 Southern States were taught to read and write through the emergency education program of the FERA-WPA.

⁸⁸ Holmes, Dwight O. W. *The Evolution of the Negro College*.

⁸⁹ For a summary of expenditures from 1923 to 1936 see Doxey Wilkerson's *Special Problems of Negro Education*, p. 75-85.

⁹⁰ Johnson, Charles S. *The Negro College Graduate*. p. 79-80. See also Ambrose Caliver. *A Background Study of Negro College Students*. (U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1933, No. 8.)

⁹¹ For a discussion of the problem of graduate instruction for Negroes see Fred McCuiston. *Graduate Instruction for Negroes in the United States*.

⁹² Johnson, Charles S. *The Negro College Graduate*. p. 10. Mr. Johnson reports that of the 43,821 Negro graduates of which records are available (from 1826 to 1936) 14.7 percent were graduated from northern colleges, and 85.3 percent from Negro colleges. This total includes college and professional graduates living or dead.

cording to Louis R. Wilson, in 1926 there were 45 public libraries for Negroes in 12 of the Southern States. In 1935 the number had increased to 75. More than 80 percent of the Negro population were outside library service districts and of the 491 counties listed as service districts only 75 actually provided service to Negroes.⁹³

In theaters, concert halls, and public auditoriums of southern towns the Negro is either excluded or permitted to occupy only some special section which he must usually reach through a side or back entrance. Rural communities seldom have even this provision for Negroes. Parks, gymnasiums, and swimming pools are seldom available to Negroes in the areas in which they are most needed. In rural counties in which the church or the school might become the center of community life, the minister or the teacher rarely has the training or equipment necessary for leadership. The striking photographs made by Arthur Raper of the schoolhouses for Negroes in certain rural areas suggest that in many places the school building would be the last place to which one would willingly go for any purpose. Raper closes his chapter on recreational facilities with the pointed remark that "The rural family does not need more places to go so much as better places to go, particularly better schools and churches, and above all more interesting things to stay at home with . . ." ⁹⁴ The same thing could be said for a large percent of the city families as well.

In matters of health, sanitation, and housing, the Negro suffers a similar disadvantage. Even in cities, paving, lighting, sewerage service, and police protection often cease where the Negro residence section begins. In the city the overcrowded tenement, and in rural areas, the unpainted, unscreened shack without sanitary facilities or conveniences, make the housing problem acute.⁹⁵ In many areas there is no hospital service of any kind available to Negroes, and the medical and nursing service is often wholly inadequate if not lacking altogether. The combination of ignorance, poverty, inadequate nutrition, and the lack of sanitation and medical care, brings the Negro death rate far above the white rate in almost all the areas under consideration.

The children of the South—which is the land of children in America—are more and more the adults of tomorrow in other States and so they will be the criminals or the sick or the creative or the consumers or the burdens of other States, soon, very soon.

JONATHAN DANIELS. *A Southerner Discovers the South*. P. 344.

While mob violence has decreased in recent years, Negroes still feel the threat involved in the occasional recurrence of lynching. This threat is in itself a form of subordination which keeps the Negro in the role assigned him. In a detailed analysis made of the 21 known lynchings which occurred in 1930 Arthur Raper found that the danger of mob violence was greatest in counties in which Negroes were less than one-fourth of the population. The counties in which lynchings occurred were generally below the average in both economic and educational indices.⁹⁶ Aside from the actual threat of mob violence, the Negro does not always have the same assurance that his white neighbor enjoys of protection in the courts and the Negro cannot be sure of redress from the injustices of white men.

In a large part of the South the Negro has no voice in local or community affairs. He pays taxes according to his means but he usually has little opportunity to participate in the civic enterprises in which he is vitally concerned. In some places he may vote in State or national elections but in many areas Negroes are either deterred or discouraged from civic or political participation. This deprivation of community responsibility is one of the most serious forms of discrimination against Negroes, as it tends to keep them in psychological as well as economic dependence. This pattern of dependence is essentially a degrading one in that the white man is tempted to substitute a benevolent paternalism for economic justice, and the Negro is led to depend not on his own foresight and enterprise but on keeping the white man's good will.

Added to the occupational limitation, the inadequate school facilities, and the exclusion from civic and cultural benefits, is the deprivation of the Negro group growing out of arbitrary restrictions on social mobility. Social scientists have pointed out that the intimate social group or class largely determines the pressures of reward and punishment which in great measure affect the socialization of the individual and hence the development of his character and personality.⁹⁷

The caste restrictions on the Negro group tend to hold Negroes in a low class position. It should be understood that the terms, lower, middle, and upper class refer mainly to relative position within the Negro group. The class position is determined on the basis of occupation, income, education, family organization, relationship to property, and general community recognition of standing. On the basis of these criteria Charles Johnson estimated the percentages of Negroes belonging to the different recognizable social divisions of the southern rural Negro population as being 6 percent upper class,

⁹³ Wilson, Louis R. Op. cit., p. 33-34.

⁹⁴ Raper, Arthur. Op. cit., p. 403.

⁹⁵ For detailed and illustrated accounts of the living conditions among both white and Negro farm families see Arthur Raper. Op. cit., and Arthur Raper and Ira De Reid. *Sharecroppers All*.

⁹⁶ Raper, Arthur. *The Tragedy of Lynching*, p. 6 ff.

⁹⁷ Allison Davis and John Dollard say, "As here identified, a social class may be thought of as the largest group of people whose members have intimate social access to one another. A class is composed of families and social cliques." *Children of Bondage*. p. 13.

12 percent middle class, and 82 percent lower class. In 83 percent of the 916 families studied, the head of the family had less than 7 years' schooling; nearly 90 percent of the families had no bank account; 55.3 percent read no papers or magazines.⁹⁸

There are important social consequences growing out of the fact that so large a percentage of Negroes have the habits and attitudes designated lower class. These class patterns include family instability, broken homes, lack of parental supervision, mothers who work, lack of sex restraint, early marriage, and a corresponding series of personal goals that are socially undesirable in terms of the standards and values of our society.⁹⁹ In such a family there is little to aid in developing a disciplined character or to awaken an ambition to reach socially approved goals.

One important factor in the Negro's low class position is the organization of the Negro family. A much larger proportion of Negro than white women are gainfully employed. This fact has two important results: The children lack the mothers' care and training, and the economic independence of the woman is often complemented by lack of responsibility on the part of the husband and father. Charles S. Johnson, in pointing out these facts, indicates that this matriarchal type of family is more than a carry over of the traditional mores of the slavery period when the slave father had no responsibility for his wife or child. It is also due to the fact that the majority of Negro workers are in domestic service or unskilled labor, and while white men compete for the jobs held by Negro men, Negro women still maintain a monopoly of domestic service positions in the South.¹

The family organization and the goals of upper class Negroes do not differ greatly from those of white families of a similar economic class. Yet the fact that so large a percentage of Negroes are on a low social and economic level makes difficult the maintenance of upper class standards by the small group who have set for themselves socially approved goals. The proportion of educated Negroes is greater in the North than in the South and within the South the proportion is greater in urban than in rural areas.²

In the American Youth Commission's study of Maryland youth, the investigators found that unstable and poorly paid occupations, low incomes, early marriages with consequent large families, and restricted educational opportunity all worked together to hold the youth—white or Negro—within the same circumscribed social, economic, and educational boundaries within which his father lived. The significance of this fact for

Negro youth is immediately apparent when the further information is given that while 71 percent of the fathers of the white youth interviewed were in occupations that paid relatively high wages, (i. e. skilled, semi-skilled, or white-collar occupations) only 20 percent of the Negro youths' fathers were in such occupations.³

Research in Southern cities indicate that class position affects the character and personality of white youth in the same way that Negro youth are affected. The difference lies in the fact that the subordinate position of the Negro tends to prevent the individual's escape from a low class position. The dual structure thus results in a circular reinforcement. Robert L. Sutherland sums up the problem by saying:

Common to both Negro and white children are the variable demands by means of which family, clique, and class sanctions define success and failure for the individual. Unique with the Negro child are the caste-like taboos which limit the ceilings of his economic and social ascent, force him to find compensatory satisfactions, and set the bounds within which the different levels of his own society will be fixed.⁴

Closely allied with the limitation of social mobility is one of the heaviest loads which the Negro carries—the stigma of inferiority. The assumption of inferiority presses upon him heavily in the form of restrictions on his freedom as a person; in the deference demanded of him; and in the dominant attitude toward him. It takes numerous overt forms in the complex and varied ritual of race relations.

One of the most constant reminders of the Negro's inferior status is the etiquette that defines his relations with the white South. The separate services provided for the Negro are seldom equal to those available to white persons. If he enters an office building the Negro may be asked to ride the freight elevator. He can usually enter a white person's house only by the back door. Eating with white persons is forbidden and the Negro can buy food or drink from white eating places only if he takes his purchase outside. Most bitterly resented by middle and upper class Negroes is the fact that many white persons refuse to use ordinary courtesy titles in addressing Negroes regardless of education or professional status.

Outside the South the Negro is less often reminded of his inferior status but nowhere in America is he entirely free from the blight of the color line. He is excluded from the majority of hotels and restaurants even in Northern cities. If he is very dark he may find difficulty in buying seats in certain theaters or auditoriums. Many Northern colleges and universities either limit the number of Negroes to be admitted or use various means to discourage their attendance. Seldom are Negro students in Northern institutions

⁹⁸ Johnson, Charles S. *Growing Up in the Black Belt*. P. 77-78.

⁹⁹ For a description of these class goals and habits see W. Lloyd Warner and Allison Davis. *A Comparative Study of American Caste in Race Relations and the Race Problems*. Edited by Edgar T. Thompson. P. 219-245.

¹ Johnson, Charles S. *Growing Up in the Black Belt*. P. 59.

² For a comprehensive treatment of the Negro family see E. Franklin Frazier. *The Negro Family in the United States*.

³ Bell, Howard M. *Youth Tell Their Story*. P. 22, 60.

⁴ Robert Sutherland, in the Introduction to *Children of Bondage*, by Allison Davis and John Dollard.

admitted or welcomed to full participation in college life.

The Negro's occupational limitation is in itself a constant reminder of his inferiority in that it imposes upon him the restriction of race which no amount of personal qualification can overcome. Arthur Raper emphasizes the fact that in certain Southern counties the Negro may not even buy farm land offered for sale unless the local white people are reasonably sure that "he knows his place" and will stay in it.⁵ While the restrictions on the Negro are greater in the South than in the North, and in rural areas than in cities, it is the educated and culturally assimilated Negro, usually a city dweller, who feels most keenly the fact that only the factor of his color prevents the full participation in the community to which his personal qualities would otherwise entitle him.⁶

The inferiority of his position bears upon the Negro negatively in the form of omissions; that is, in the numerous daily reminders that he does not "belong" or that his position is at best a lowly one. The newspapers, magazines, and books he reads are written from the standpoint of the dominant group. In his school textbooks the Negro people are usually ignored or else referred to in such a manner as to give him no cause for pride. Furthermore, he has the daily lesson of seeing about him a white world in control, his own people subordinate.

From his earliest days the Negro child, wherever he lives in this country, finds himself in a world in which all beauty and glory, all heroism and worth, are measured by the white man's standard. The value system of the white world is the only one he has an opportunity to know and in that value system his people hold an inferior place. The Negro child thus comes to associate his dark skin, his broad nose, and his krinkly hair not only with ugliness but with inferiority. Special circumstances have favored the advancement of lighter Negroes so that success within the group is associated with a lighter skin, less Negroid features, and "good" hair. Thus the dark child may meet discrimination not only from the white world but from his fellow Negro pupils, his teachers, or even his family.⁷

This stigma of inferiority produces an extreme race consciousness at the same time that it imposes the dead weight of an artificial limitation. The assumption of racial inferiority is a formidable obstacle to the Negro's advance and progress even where equality of educational opportunity is open to him. At present we have no way of knowing what Negroes might achieve, or the contributions to our common life they might make, were they freed from the burden of assumed inferiority with all the limitation which such an assumption implies.

⁷ All of the investigators who made studies of Negro youth for the American Youth Commission report discrimination based on color in the school, in social life, and sometimes in the family. See E. Franklin Frazier. *Negro Youth at the Cross Ways*, p. 66 ff. See also Warner, *et al.* Op. cit. p. 292 ff.; Johnson. Op. cit., p. 256 ff; Davis and Dollard. Op. cit., p. 253.

⁵ Raper, Arthur. Preface to *Peasantry*. p. 122.

⁶ Warner, W. Lloyd, and others. *Color and Human Nature*. p. 296.

Chapter IV. Regional Variations: The County Analysis

Basic Factors in the County Analysis

THE PRECEDING chapter has made clear the fact that there are wide economic, cultural, and educational variations in the Southern Regions in which the separate schools make the education of Negroes a special problem. Even the State does not represent a homogeneous area for within any State are found wide differentials in the factors important for this study. In an effort to make a more detailed analysis than that of a region or State, the county was chosen as the most appropriate unit. It is the smallest area for which census data are available, and in much of the region under consideration the county is an important administrative unit for school funds as well as for other purposes.

The foundation for a county analysis was laid by Charles S. Johnson's *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties*¹ in which he analyzed 1,104 counties on the basis of crop types, crop sub-types, and urban-industrial types. For the purpose of this study 44 additional counties were typed, making a total of 1,148 counties. These counties were then grouped into 14 composite types based on the crop types, and the urban-industrial types. The counties were then analyzed in three different ways.²

Of the total number of counties 966 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro. The counties of the 16 States are distributed as follows:

State	Total counties	Counties typed	Counties with 5 percent or more Negroes
1	2	3	4
Alabama.....	67	67	61
Arkansas.....	75	75	45
Delaware.....	3	3	3
District of Columbia.....	1	1	1
Florida.....	67	67	66
Georgia.....	161	161	148
Kentucky.....	120	120	60
Louisiana.....	64	64	64
Maryland.....	23	23	19
Mississippi.....	82	82	82
North Carolina.....	100	100	86
Oklahoma.....	77	25	25
South Carolina.....	46	46	46
Tennessee.....	95	95	57
Texas.....	254	104	104
Virginia.....	100	100	84
West Virginia.....	55	15	15
Total.....	1,390	1,148	966

For each of the 966 counties having 5 percent or more of its population Negro, the county type and approximately 80 other items of social, economic, and

educational data were punched on Hollerith cards.³ Of these items 5 appeared to be of special significance in revealing the structure of the county, or the general social and economic pattern of life within the county. These 5 factors were the *County type* (to be explained in the next section), the *Plane of Living Index*, the *Percent Negroes Were of the Population*, the *Percent Negroes Were Urban*, and the *Location of the County with Respect to Negro Colleges*.

The Plane of Living Index was designed to give some general idea of the economic and cultural level of life in the county. It is a composite index of 7 items, namely, a Modern Convenience Index (the number of telephones, radios, and passenger automobiles per 100 families each expressed as a percent of the corresponding United States figure and then averaged), the retail sales per capita, the percent of families owning their homes, the individual income tax returns per 1,000 population, the average value of farms, wages in business and industry per employee, and the reciprocal of the number of unemployed per 1,000 persons so expressed that a high figure indicated a low unemployment ratio. These figures were each expressed as a percent of the corresponding national figure and the 7 were then averaged. The Plane of Living Index refers, of course, to the total population.

The percent Negroes were of the total population, and the percent of the Negro population that was urban are self-explanatory. Both proved to be significant when tested by sample tables.

The location of the county with respect to Negro colleges is a classification designed to test the possible relation of the presence or absence of a Negro college to other indices. The 966 counties were grouped into four classes as follows:

- I. Counties having two or more Negro colleges in the county.
- II. Counties having one Negro college in the county.
- III. Counties having no Negro college in the county, but one or more colleges in an adjacent county.
- IV. Counties having no Negro college in the county or in an adjacent county.

From the items entered on the Hollerith cards certain ones were chosen to be tested against these five basic factors. First, the County Type was run against each of the other four basic factors, and then against several other significant social and economic items. Each of the five basic factors was then run against a series of educational items. After various experiments the following were chosen as being the

¹ Johnson, Charles S. and others. *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties*.
The details of this procedure will be found on p. 122 ff.

³ For the sources of data used, and a sample county work sheet, see p. 122 ff.

most valuable educational items for the purposes of this study:

1. The length of the Negro school term in days.
2. The Negro-white ratio of length of school term.
3. Current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled.
4. Negro-white ratio of current expenditure per pupil enrolled.
5. Percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school.
6. Negro-white ratio of percent all school enrollment in high school.
7. Average salary of Negro high-school teachers.
8. Negro-white ratio of average salary high-school teachers.
9. Percent Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training.
10. Negro-white ratio of teachers with 2 or more years' college training.
11. Number of Negro students in college per 1,000 Negroes aged 15-19.

In addition to these items, the percent of colored farm operators who were tenants was run against all the basic factors except the percent of the Negro population that was urban. A number of additional items were run against the county types. Finally, a few special items were run against one another, such as the Negro-white ratio of current expenditure per pupil enrolled against the current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled. These special tables appear as miscellaneous tables.

It would, of course, be possible to make numerous other useful comparisons from the data available on the Hollerith cards. The items listed were selected because of their significance for higher education. Some items which were eliminated either revealed much the same situation as those which were included, or else failed to show significant correlations because of complicating factors. For example, the salaries of Negro elementary teachers and the ratio of their salaries to those of white elementary teachers follow a pattern similar to that of Negro high-school teachers and the ratio of their salaries to salaries of white high-school teachers. The number of Negro children 7-13 in school did not vary greatly from one type of county to another. The proportion of Negro youth 14-17 and those 18-20 in school do not mean the same thing in privileged and underprivileged areas due to the greater number of retarded pupils in the less privileged areas. Likewise the proportion of Negro high-school enrollment in the fourth year proved less significant than the proportion of all school enrollment in high school, due to the fact that in many of the less privileged areas there were no Negro high schools.

The tables will first be analyzed in terms of the five basic factors after which attention will be given to the relation of these factors to the more important educational items.

The County Type

When the 966 Southern counties were analyzed in three different ways they were found to be distributed, according to type, as follows:

Economy Type:	Number	Percent
Non-farm.....	124	12.8
Farm other than cotton.....	314	32.5
Cotton.....	528	54.7
Total.....	966	100.0
Industrialization:		
Non-farm.....	124	12.8
Industrial farm.....	364	37.7
Non-industrial farm.....	478	49.5
Total.....	966	100.0
Urbanization:		
Metropolitan (25,000 population or over)---	66	6.8
Other non-farm.....	58	6.0
Farm:		
City (10,000-24,999 population)-----	78	8.1
Town (2,500-9,999 population)-----	335	34.7
Rural.....	429	44.4
Total.....	966	100.0

When the total counties were classified according to *Economy*, the groupings were designed to show the significance of a non-farm economy as compared with the economy of cotton farm counties, and with that of farm counties other than cotton. A non-farm county was defined as one which either had a city of 25,000 or more population, or which had less than 25 percent of its gainfully employed males in agriculture. There may of course be a fairly large farm population in such counties, but the presence of a metropolitan city, or such non-farm industries as would occupy more than three-fourths of the gainfully employed males, set these counties apart from those whose basic economy was farming.

The farm other than cotton counties included all farm counties in which cotton was not the major crop. The degree of urbanization was ignored unless there was a city of 25,000 population or more. Some of the counties depended on grain, livestock, and dairying; some were classified as crop specialty counties (including tobacco counties), and some were subsistence counties. The group was a heterogeneous one, but the more detailed classification on which the composite types were based showed that these counties could be set off from the cotton counties which were likely to have educational and cultural indices which distinguished them.

The cotton counties included both rural and urban farm counties in which cotton was the major crop. This classification by economy ignored the question of industrialization and that of urbanization other than the fact that counties having cities of 25,000 population or more were classed as non-farm. The question considered in this classification was whether there were certain things which non-farm counties had in common that farm counties did not have. And among farm counties were cotton counties, irrespective of urbani-

zation or industrialization, different from farm counties which did not have cotton as the major crop.

The second classification was based on the degree of industrialization. Here the non-farm counties were again kept in one group whereas the farm counties were classified as industrial farm if they had a retail trade center, or at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing. Farm counties having no retail trade center and less than 10 percent of their gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing were classed as non-industrial farm. This classification ignored the kind of farming, that is, whether or not the major crop was cotton.

The third classification was based on the degree of urbanization. The non-farm group of the other two classifications was here divided into metropolitan and other non-farm. The 66 metropolitan counties each had a city of 25,000 or more population. The 58 other non-farm counties were those which had no cities of 25,000 population or more but which had less than 25 percent of their gainfully employed males in agriculture. This was, of course, a heterogeneous group as some of these counties were rural, some had small towns, and others had towns over 10,000 but less than 25,000 population. The farm city counties included all farm counties (whether cotton or not) in which there was a city of 10,000 to 25,000 population. The farm town counties (whether cotton or not) were those with towns of 2,500 to 10,000 population. The farm rural counties included all counties (whether cotton or not) which had no town of 2,500 population or more. In

this classification both the kind of crops and the degree of industrialization were ignored.

In this 3-way classification it was thus possible to isolate certain factors for consideration and to see how these factors were related to significant cultural and educational indices.

When sample tables were run against the county type one significant factor immediately apparent was the variation in population increase in the different types of counties for the period from 1920 to 1930 (tables A-1, A-2). The median increase of the total population in non-farm counties was nearly 30 percent; and a little more than a third of the non-farm counties had a total population increase of 40 percent or more. The median percent increase of the Negro population of non-farm counties was only 21 percent, but more than a fifth of the non-farm counties had an increase in Negro population of 50 percent or more.

When the non-farm counties were divided into metropolitan and other non-farm, it is seen that the increase in the total population was approximately the same in the two groups, while the greatest increase in the Negro population took place in the metropolitan counties. Slightly more than one-fourth of all the metropolitan counties increased their Negro population by 50 percent or more.

The total population increased in some degree in more than half of all counties except in the rural and the non-industrial farm groups. The Negro population decreased in more than half of all the farm counties except those having cities of 10,000 to 25,000 popula-

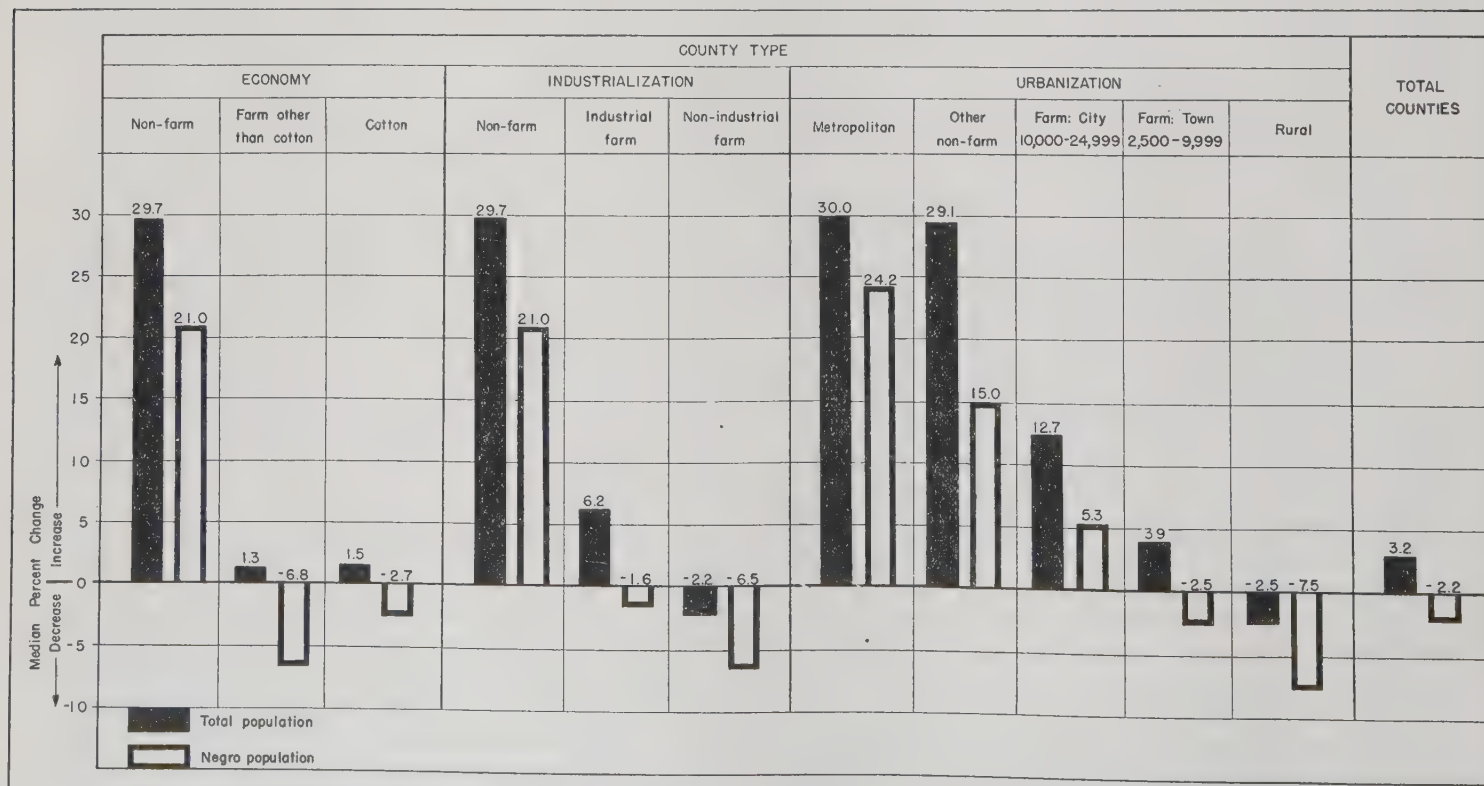


FIGURE 8. The percent change in total population and in Negro population, 1920-1930, in relation to county type.

tion. In these counties, however, the increase in the median county was less than 6 percent. For all the counties given (947) the increase for the total population was 3.2 percent in the median county, while for the Negro population there was a decrease of 2.2 percent.

When the county type was run against the proportion which Negroes were of the total population (table A-3) the median county for the total group showed 20.4 percent Negroes. Of the non-farm counties, the percent for the median county was 25; for the metropolitan counties the median was 26 percent, and for the other non-farm counties 23.9 percent. The median for the farm other than cotton counties was only slightly less than that of the non-farm counties, while for the cotton counties the median was a little more than 36 percent.

The industrially diversified counties showed a median slightly over 28 percent, while the non-industrially diversified counties had a median of almost 35 percent. The farm city counties had a median percent Negroes almost as high as the rural counties (32.7 and 33.7, respectively), while the median for the farm town counties was only 29 percent.

Seven non-farm counties, 28 farm other than cotton counties, and 155 cotton counties had more than half their population Negro. Four of these seven non-farm counties were metropolitan. In general the highest percentage of Negro population was found in the rural, the non-industrial farm, and the cotton counties. Of the farm counties having more than half their population Negro, 108 were rural, 62 were farm town, and 13 were farm city.⁴

Consideration of the percent of the Negro population that was urban (table A-4) showed that more than 87 percent of the non-farm counties had some portion of the Negro population urban, with nearly 63 percent of the non-farm counties having more than half their Negro population in cities. Of the farm other than cotton counties slightly more than 53 percent had all their Negro population rural, while only a little more than 48 percent of the cotton counties had all their Negro population rural. All metropolitan counties had at least 30 percent of their Negro population urban; all farm city counties had at least 10 percent of the Negro population urban; and all farm town counties had some of their Negro population urban. However, more than 45 percent of the total counties had no urban Negroes.⁵

The Plane of Living Index (table A-5) varied with the type of county. More than a third of all the cotton counties, of all the non-industrial farm counties, and of all the rural counties had an Index of less than 50. No metropolitan county fell below 50 and only one such county fell below 60. The median Index for the metropolitan counties was 92.7; for other non-farm counties, 74.8; for farm city counties, 69.5; and for rural

counties, 56.6. Thus a high plane of living was clearly associated with urban conditions and it dropped steadily with the increase in ruralization. (It is possible that the Plane of Living Index "favored" urban counties to some extent. That is, it included several factors in which cities have a statistical though not necessarily a real sociological advantage.)

However, there was one factor more important than urbanization in determining the plane of living. All cotton counties had a lower median Plane of Living Index than did all rural counties (53.8 and 56.6). Moreover, only 9 out of 527 cotton counties (1.7 percent) had an Index of 100 or over, whereas 32 out of 429 rural counties (7.5 percent) had an Index of 100 or over.

This difference in the total cotton and total rural groups is important for the cotton group includes not only the 260 rural cotton counties, but also 216 small town cotton counties, and 52 counties in which there is a town of 10,000 to 25,000 population. Cotton thus seems to be a more important factor in bringing down the plane of living than urbanization is important in bringing it up. Or perhaps one should say that even the upward pull of urbanization is not great enough to overcome the downward pull of cotton.

The lower Index of all cotton counties is undoubtedly associated with the high rate of tenancy and the low economic level of all sharecroppers white or colored. When the Plane of Living Index was run against the 14 County Types (unpublished tables) the cotton counties in each case had a much lower median Index than did other farm counties with the same degree of urbanization. Moreover, the 52 large-town cotton counties had a median Index of only 63.2 which is lower than the median Index of even the rural farm counties other than cotton. All cotton counties except those with large towns had a median Index below 60. While the lowest farm other than cotton group was 65.8, no other non-cotton group fell below 75. The 222 non-industrial cotton counties had a median index of only 48.4.

In order to get a better understanding of the economic and cultural levels of the various counties, the Modern Conveniences Index,⁶ the number of subscribers to 12 national magazines (per 100 families), and the number of income tax returns per 1,000 population were run against the County Type (tables A-6, A-7, A-8). It will be noticed that these three items show a consistent relationship to the type of county. Non-farm counties ranked higher in each factor than did the farm counties; and the farm other than cotton counties ranked higher than cotton counties. Industrially diversified farm counties ranked higher than non-industrially diversified farm counties.

When the counties were classified according to urbanization, the distribution generally indicated that the greater the degree of urbanization the higher the rank

⁴ The relation of the proportion which Negroes are of the population to other factors is analyzed in a later section.

⁵ The relation of the urbanization of Negroes to other factors is analyzed in a later section.

⁶ The Modern Conveniences Index was based on the number of radios, telephones, and passenger automobiles per 100 families.

in these three indices. Metropolitan counties ranked highest in every case, and in every case rural counties ranked lowest. The farm town counties were outranked by the farm city counties. The other non-farm counties outranked the farm city counties in the subscribers to 12 national magazines, and the number of income tax returns per 1,000 population, but these counties fell below the farm city counties in the Modern Conveniences Index.

Another factor of importance is the percent of colored farm operators who are tenants (table A-9). Of the 775 counties for which the data were available, the median percent of Negro operators who were tenants was 73.3. The non-farm counties show a lower percent of tenancy than other counties. While it might be supposed that this is due to the presence in this group of the metropolitan counties, actually the metropolitan counties show a median tenancy of 70 percent (nearly equal to the general median) while tenancy in the other non-farm counties is only 45 percent. The farm other than cotton counties also have a lower percent of tenancy (47.4). The cotton counties showed a median tenancy of a little more than 80 percent. The distribution suggests that cotton is the major factor in tenancy, and even in those counties in which there is a metropolitan city the Negro farmers are likely to be tenants rather than owners. It is significant to note, however, that when the percent of colored farm operators who were tenants was run against the average value of farms operated by colored operators (table F-5) there appeared to be no constant relationship between the percent of Negro tenancy and the average value of the farms Negroes operated.

The percent of Negro families owning their own homes (table A-10) showed the lowest median home ownership to be in cotton counties (22.2 percent). The highest median percent (more than 43 percent) was found in the farm other than cotton counties. This would be expected since this was the farm group with the lowest percent of Negro farmers who were tenants. With the exception of these two groups, the distribution of home ownership was relatively even. The median for the total of 954 counties was 28.3 percent.

When the counties were grouped with reference to the location of the county with respect to Negro colleges (table A-11), it was found that more than 11 percent of the non-farm counties had two or more Negro colleges in the county; while only 0.3 percent of the farm other than cotton and 1.3 percent of the cotton counties had two or more colleges. However, all the non-farm counties having two or more colleges were metropolitan. This means that a little more than one-fifth of all metropolitan counties had two or more colleges. More than half the metropolitan counties had at least one college for Negroes; almost 14 percent of the other non-farm counties had one college; more than 21 percent of the farm city, 5 percent of the farm town, and less than 3

percent of the rural counties had a Negro college. More than 93 percent of the cotton counties had no Negro college either in the county or in an adjacent county.⁷

For this study a basic question is whether the Negro school indices are correlated with the County Types and with economic and cultural factors. We have seen that certain economic and cultural indices showed significant relationship to the County Types. Examination of the educational indices showed the same kind of correlation. In general the non-farm counties ranked highest, the farm other than cotton ranked next, and the cotton counties were lowest. Likewise in each of these educational items the industrially diversified farm counties outranked the non-industrially diversified farm counties, and both of these groups were outranked by the non-farm counties.

When the degree of urbanization was considered, the metropolitan counties ranked at the top in every item except that of per capita expenditure per pupil enrolled. In this case the other non-farm counties exceeded slightly the expenditure of the metropolitan counties, a difference which may possibly be explained by the fact that sparsity of population increases the per capita cost of a given level of service. The same type of situation may account for the fact that the median current expenditure for rural counties slightly exceeded the median for farm town counties. With these two slight exceptions the order of rank in every case was metropolitan, other non-farm, farm city, farm town, and rural.

No non-farm county had an average Negro school term of less than 140 days (table A-12) and more than half of these counties had school terms longer than 170 days; the median being 172.6 days. On the other hand, nearly a fourth of the cotton counties had Negro school terms of less than 140 days; the median for this group being only 147.2 days. The farm other than cotton counties had a median term of 162.5 days. The distributions in the other two groups followed a similar pattern. It should be noted that the cotton counties (of which less than half were wholly rural) fell below all rural counties in the median length of term.

In current expenditures annually per Negro pupil enrolled (table A-14), approximately one-fourth of the non-farm counties fell below \$15, but nearly three-fourths of the cotton counties, and almost a third of the farm other than cotton counties fell below this amount. The median for non-farm counties was \$22.78; for the farm other than cotton, \$17.62; and for the cotton counties, \$11.50. When classified according to industrialization or urbanization, the counties showed a similar distribution with the exception noted in the case of the other non-farm and rural counties. The cotton counties again fell below rural counties.

⁷ The location of the county with respect to colleges and its relation to other educational indices is analyzed on p. 61ff.

The percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school (table A-16) showed more than a fourth of the non-farm counties with an enrollment of less than 10 percent; the farm other than cotton showed more than half the counties with less than 10 percent; while more than three-fourths of all cotton counties had less than 10 percent of the Negro school enrollment in high school. The medians for the three groups were 14.8, 9.9, and 5.9, respectively. The other two classifications followed the same general type of distribution, though the metropolitan counties in this case had almost a third larger median percent than the other non-farm counties and a median percent three times as great as that of the rural counties. In this case the median for the cotton counties exceeded slightly that of the rural counties.

The median average salary of Negro high-school teachers (table A-18) varied from \$818 in non-farm counties, \$710 in farm other than cotton, to \$611 in cotton counties. Less than 5 percent of the non-farm counties paid Negro high-school teachers less than \$500; nearly 8 percent of the farm other than cotton paid less than \$500; and more than 21 percent of the cotton counties paid less than \$500. The distributions in the other two classifications vary from the usual pattern only in the fact that the non-industrial farm group showed a median salary slightly lower than the rural group. As in most of the other factors the metropolitan counties ranked at the top, while cotton counties were at the bottom.

In the percent of teachers with 2 or more years' college training (table A-20) the median percent for the

non-farm counties was 95.1, for the farm other than cotton 78.8; and for the cotton counties 66.7. More than a third of the cotton counties (35.5 percent) had less than half their teachers with 2 or more years' college training; the farm other than cotton had nearly 17 percent in this group; while only 2 non-farm counties had less than half their teachers with 2 years or more of college. In this item also, the non-industrial farm counties fell slightly below the rural counties, but otherwise the distribution according to industrialization and urbanization followed the usual pattern. The cotton counties again fell below the rural counties.

In the number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 (table A-22) there appeared one of the most striking differences to be found in all the educational indices. The median number of students in college for non-farm counties was 48.9; for farm other than cotton, 21.6; and for cotton counties, 13.7. The non-farm counties had a median number over twice as high as the industrially diversified farm counties and nearly four times as high as the non-industrially diversified farm counties. The most striking differences, however, appeared with the degree of urbanization. Metropolitan counties had a median number of students in college more than twice as high as non-farm counties, nearly two and a half times as high as farm city counties; more than three times as high as farm town counties, and more than six times as high as rural counties. In this instance the rural counties had a median index lower than the cotton counties.

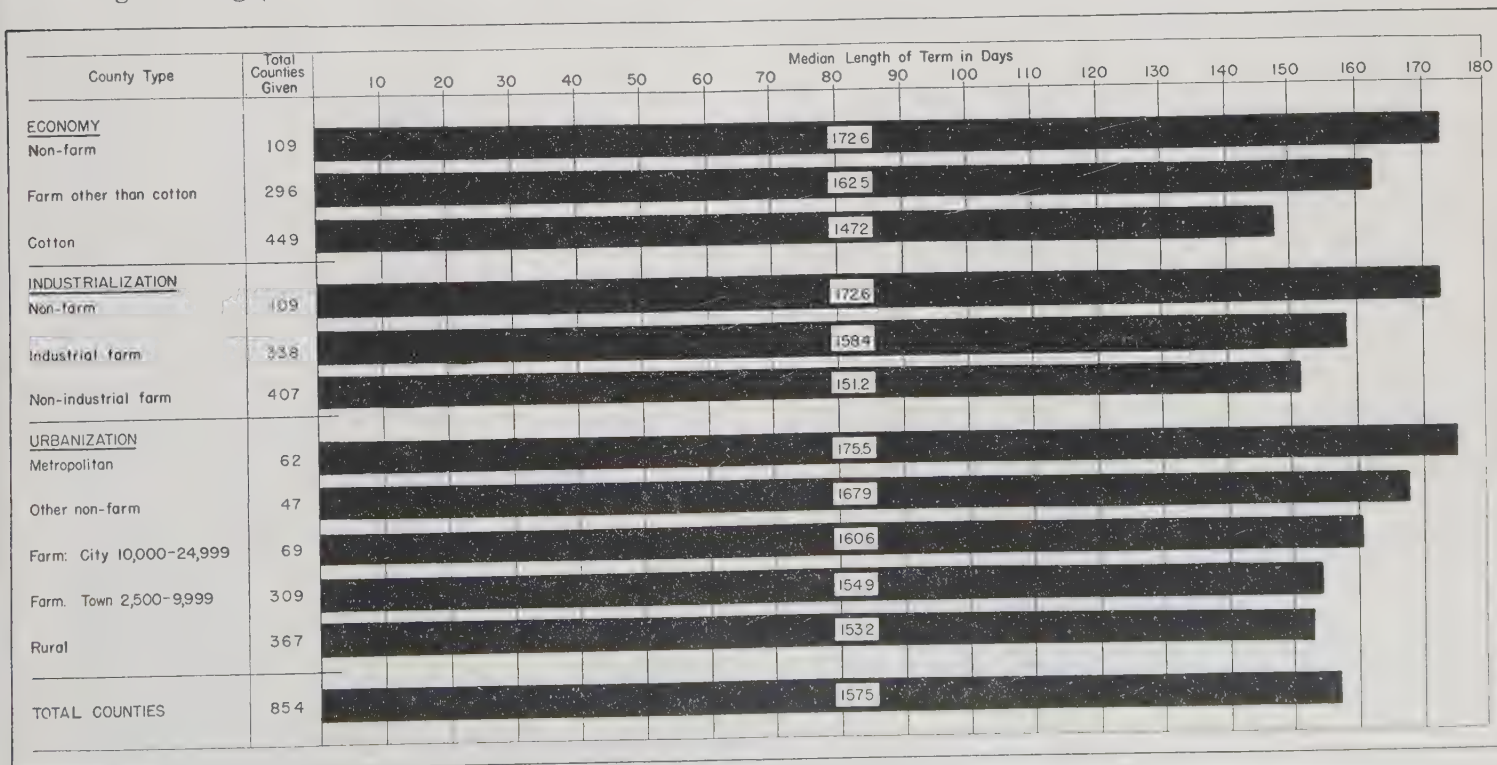


FIGURE 9. The length of Negro school term in relation to county type.

Since the differences in the educational opportunity of Negro children are correlated with the economic and cultural indices, it is clear that the economic, cultural, and educational opportunities of Negro children vary with the type of county in which they live. The Negro child fares best in metropolitan counties and, in general, non-farm counties whether metropolitan or not, offer him better advantages than do farm counties. If he lives in a farm county he generally fares better in an industrially diversified county than in one which has no such diversification. Likewise he is better off in counties that have a city of from 10,000 to 25,000 population than in a county which has no town of 10,000 population or more. He has a poor opportunity in rural counties, though in many instances rural counties as a whole show better indices than cotton counties as a whole.

We know from the data on which our tables are based, that the opportunities of white children likewise vary with the type of county in which they live. It is important, however, to know whether the Negroes' lack of opportunity is wholly a matter of difference in the economic and cultural levels of the counties, that is, whether Negro and white children suffer the same relative degree of deprivation in the poorer counties, or whether the Negro child gets a smaller share of available resources in some types of counties than in others.

The ratios of the Negro and white school indices show clearly that the Negro children received less than their proportionate share of all school services in practically every county in the South for which data were available. For all the Southern counties for which data were available the Negro in the median county had a school term that was 93.6 percent as long as the white school term (table A-13); he got 38.6 percent as much money spent on his education (table A-15); he had only 36.2 percent as large a proportion of his school enrollment in high school (table A-17). The Negro high-school teachers were paid only 64 percent as much salary as the white high-school teachers (table A-19) though 87.9 percent of the Negro teachers were as well trained (table A-21).⁸

Moreover, the proportion of the available school services which the Negro child received varied with the type of county in which he lived. In the non-farm counties the school term for Negro children in the median county was slightly longer than the term for white children, though the Negro child had less than 47 percent as much money spent on his education as was spent on his white neighbor. He had less than 56 percent as large a proportion of his school enrollment in high school as had the white school, and while in these counties a larger percent of Negro teachers had 2 or more years of college training than did white teachers, the Negro teachers in the median county got only 65

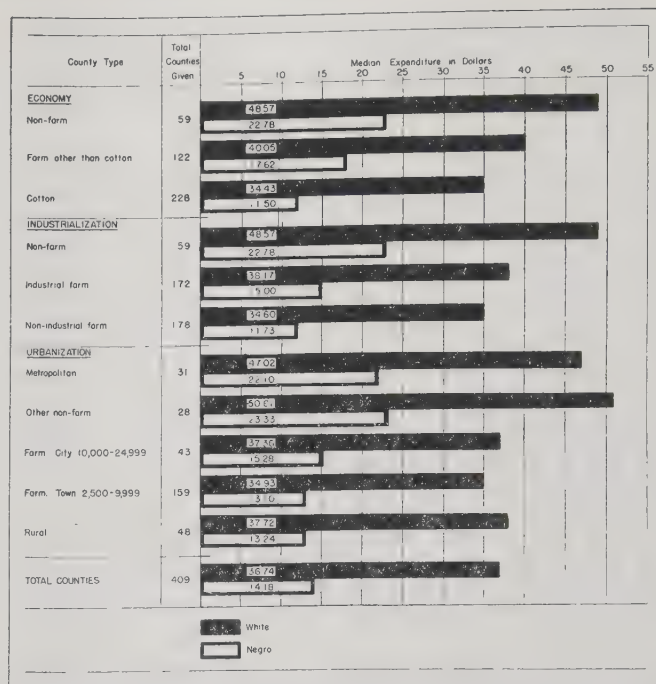


FIGURE 10. The current expenditure per white pupil enrolled, and per Negro pupil enrolled, in relation to county types.

percent as much salary as their fellow white teachers.

In the farm counties other than cotton the Negro school term in the median county was almost as long as the term for white children (99.7 percent), but only 44 cents was spent on each Negro child for each \$1 spent on a white child. The Negro school had only 45 percent as large a proportion of its enrollment in high school; and while the Negro teachers had 88 percent as much training as white teachers they received 70 percent as much salary.

In the cotton counties the Negro children received an even smaller share of the available resources. In the median county the Negro child had only 88 days of school for each 100 days available to his white neighbor. He had only a third as much money spent for his education as was spent for the white child, and he had less than 28 percent as large a proportion of his school enrollment in high school. His teachers were nearly 80 percent as well trained as the white teachers but they were paid less than 62 percent as much salary.

For the industrially diversified farm counties the Negro children had a median school term as long as the median term for white children; the per capita school expenditure for Negro children was 39.3 percent as great as the expenditure for white children; and the Negro schools had 37.5 percent as much of their total school enrollment in high school. The Negro teachers were nearly 90 percent as well trained as the white teachers, but they received less than 66 percent as much salary.

In the non-industrially diversified counties the Negro child had 90.1 days school term for each 100 days of the white child; he had 33.9 cents spent on his education for each \$1 spent on the white child; he had 29 percent

⁸ The term "as well trained" is used for brevity. The figures refer to the percent of teachers with 2 or more years of college training.

as much of his school enrollment in high school. His teachers had more than 81 percent as much training as the white teachers, but they received less than 62 percent as much salary.

In metropolitan counties the median Negro school term was slightly longer than that of the white children, but the Negro got only 47 percent as much money as the white child. The Negro school had 60 percent as much of its enrollment in high school; and while almost as many Negro as white teachers had at least 2 years of college, the Negro teachers were paid less than two-thirds as much salary. With some slight variations, these ratios dropped steadily with ruralization. In the rural counties the Negro school term was 92 percent as long as the white school term; the Negro pupil received 35 cents for each \$1 spent for a white pupil. The proportion of Negro school enrollment in high school was 27 percent as large as the proportion of white school enrollment in high school. The Negro teachers in the median county had approximately 79 percent as much training as the white teachers, but they received less than 64 percent as much salary.

Two facts are sharply revealed by these figures. In the first place, the opportunity of both white and Negro children varies greatly with the type of county in which they live. Rural, cotton, non-industrially diversified counties are poor counties, both economically and culturally, and their poverty shows clearly in their school indices. Both white and Negro children in these counties go to school fewer days; they have less money spent on their education; fewer of them get to high school; their teachers are less well trained, and are paid smaller salaries. When the farm county is industrially diversified, or when the basic crop is something other than cotton, the county is usually economically and culturally better off, and all the children have a better school opportunity. The non-farm counties have the best economic and cultural resources and they give all the children the best educational opportunity.⁹ For all counties, the opportunity increased with the degree of urbanization. However in three of the five indices all cotton counties had a lower median than did all rural counties.

The inference from these figures is unmistakable. Being born in one type of county rather than another affects profoundly the opportunity of both white and Negro children in the Southern States. If the children in these States are to have anything like an equal educational opportunity, the provision of that opportunity must not be dependent on the resources of the county in which they live.

The second fact is equally clear. Nowhere in the region under consideration do Negro children have anything like the opportunity available to white children in the same county. Even in the metropolitan

counties the Negro children in the median county had spent on their education less than half the money spent for an equal number of white children.

Furthermore, the *ratio* of opportunity decreases in exactly the same way that the actual opportunity decreases. That is, the Negro child gets his best opportunity in those counties in which the white child gets his best chance, and likewise both white and Negro children get their poorest opportunity in the same types of counties, but the opportunity of Negroes varies not only in amount but in proportion. That is, the poorer the economic and cultural level of the county, the smaller the proportion of available resources allocated to the Negro schools. Thus the Negro child in the poorer counties suffers both an absolute and a relative handicap in that his opportunity not only decreases in the poorer counties but the gap between his opportunity and that of his white neighbor steadily widens as the total economic and cultural level of the county falls.

This relative disadvantage is clearly shown in a table in which the Negro-white ratio of expenditure per pupil was run against the actual expenditure per Negro pupil (table F-1). There were five counties in which the annual expenditure per Negro child was less than \$5 and in these counties the white child received more than five times the amount of each Negro child. In the 37 counties in which the Negro child got less than \$7.50 a year the ratio rose to 17. When the expenditure per Negro child rose to \$15 he was getting approximately 40 percent of what each white child received. More than half the (409) counties given spent less than half as much for the Negro child as for each white

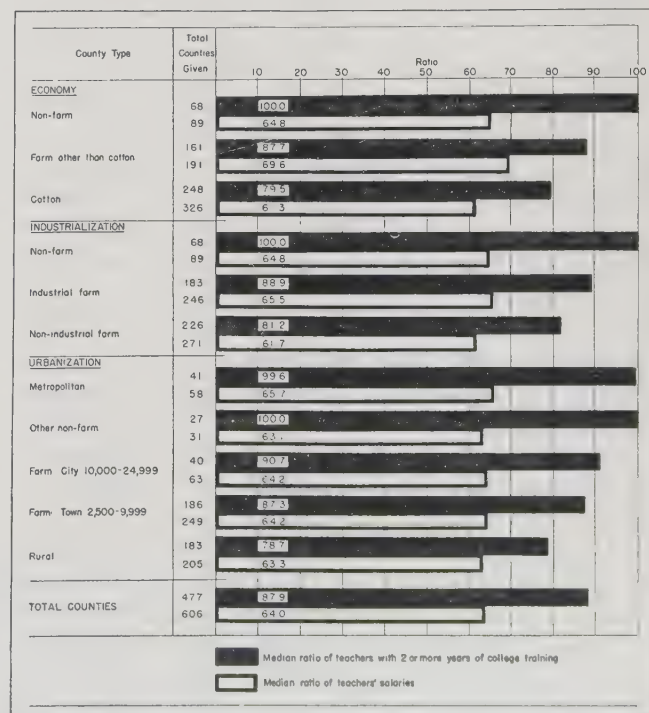


FIGURE 11. The Negro-white ratio of teachers with 2 or more years of college training, and the Negro-white ratio of teachers' salaries, in relation to county type.

⁹ Even the best opportunity in these counties is usually below the average for the Nation. The comparison is here made of counties within the region of separate schools.

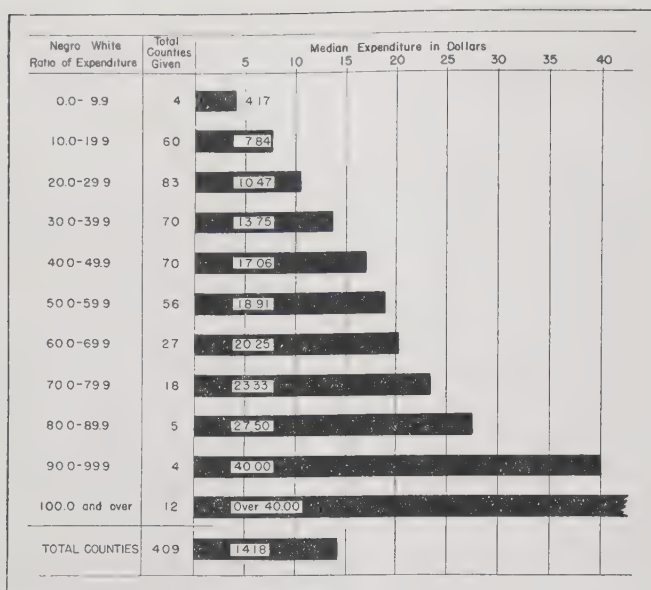


FIGURE 12. The current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled in relation to the Negro-white ratio of current expenditure per pupil enrolled.

child, and in only 21 counties out of the total did each Negro child get, on the average, as much as 80 percent of the amount spent on each white child.

The inequality of opportunity throughout the South is perhaps most strikingly illustrated in the fact that of a total of 409 counties for which data were available there were only 12 counties in which the per capita school expenditure for Negro children averaged as high as that for the white children of the same county.

The Plane of Living Index

The Plane of Living Index (see p. 124) reveals relatively at least, the extent to which the people of a given county reach the general economic and cultural level of the Nation as a whole. That the combination of items used does indicate in some measure relative educational and cultural as well as economic opportunity is evident from the fact that the concentration of counties with a low Plane of Living Index coincides with the region of high tenancy, low per capita wealth, low library index, low school expenditures, and other similar indices.

It was pointed out in an earlier section (p. 49) that the Plane of Living Index varies with the County Type. More than a third of all cotton counties, all non-industrial farm counties, and all rural counties had an Index of less than 50. In general non-farm counties ranked higher than farm counties and the greater the degree of urbanization the higher the rank. However, it was found that not only were cotton counties as a whole lower than any other group of counties but that cotton counties which were urban ranked below rural non-cotton counties. (From an unpublished table. No non-cotton rural group had a median Index below 65.8, while the median for large-town cotton counties was only 63.2.)

The Plane of Living Index showed a negative correlation with the percent Negroes were of the population (table C-1). With the exception of the counties having less than 10 percent of their population Negro the median Plane of Living dropped with each 10-point rise in the proportion of Negroes. The median Plane of Living Index for 964 Southern counties was 63.6, while counties having 40 to 50 percent of their population Negro had a median index of 60.7. The median ranged from 66.7 when Negroes were less than 10 percent of the population, to 51.4 when they were 70 to 80 percent of the population. The highest median was 72.8 when Negroes were 10 to 20 percent of the population. The differences in the median for the county types were much greater, the highest being 92.7 for metropolitan counties, the lowest being 53.8 for cotton counties. Not until Negroes are 60 to 70 percent of the population did the median Plane of Living drop below the median for all cotton counties.

The Plane of Living Index showed a tendency to rise with an increase in the percent of the Negro population that was urban (table D-1). When less than 10 percent of the Negro population was urban the median Index was 57.3. It did not rise steadily but did move upward as urbanization increased. When the Negro population was 60 percent urban the Plane of Living Index reached 80. After the point of 70 percent urbanization was reached, only one county had a Plane of Living Index below 60 and only six counties fell below 70.

When the Plane of Living Index was run against the percent of colored farm operators who were tenants (table B-1), the relationship of tenancy to the total economic level of a county was immediately apparent. For the total 774 counties for which the tenancy data were given the median Plane of Living Index was 60.4, and the median percent of colored operators who were tenants was 73.4. Of the total counties, 302 had 80 percent or more of their colored farm operators in the status of tenants, and of these counties more than a third (113) had a Living Index of less than 50. Of the 53 counties having a Living Index of 100 or over only 7 had 80 percent or more colored tenants, but of the 24 counties with an Index below 40, two-thirds had 80 percent or more tenants. More than half of the counties with an Index below 50 had 80 percent or more colored tenants. There were 104 counties which had more than 90 percent of their colored operators tenants. The median plane of living for the 104 counties was 54.

These figures do not take into account the amount of white tenancy but they do indicate the low plane of living of the Negro tenants, and probably of all tenants. In those counties in which the plane of living of the total population is less than half the national Index, the level of living of the tenants must, of course, be much lower.

The educational indices show clearly that the educa-

tional opportunity of the Negro child increases as the Plane of Living Index for the total population rises.

The length of the school term for Negro children shows a significant relationship to the Plane of Living Index (table B-2). Of the 853 counties given, 43 had an average school term of less than 130 days. (Although not shown on the published tables, 15 of these 43 counties had average terms of less than 120 days. There were also 7 counties with a term of 185 days or more.) None of these 43 counties had a Living Index as high as 80 and more than half of them had an Index below 50. The median length of term for the total 853 counties was 157.4 days. The median for the 21 counties having a Living Index below 40 was 142.5 days. Of the 89 counties with an Index of 100 or over, more than half (45) had school terms of more than 170 days. Between the 15 counties with the shortest terms (less than 120 days) and the 7 counties with the longest terms (185 days or more) was a difference of more than 13 weeks in the school opportunity which was available to Negro children. In 9 years of school attendance the children in these poorer counties would receive the equivalent of 3 years less actual schooling than the children in the most privileged counties.

A further indication of the relative opportunity of children in the various counties is the per capita expenditure per pupil enrolled (table B-4). The 409 counties for which this information was available showed a median current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled of \$14.20 for the year. In the 11 counties having a Plane of Living Index below 40 the median expenditure was less than \$9. More than a fourth (105) of all the counties given spent less than \$10 a year for each Negro pupil enrolled. Of these counties only 6 had a Plane of Living Index of 80 or more. Of the 44 counties having an Index of 100 or more, almost half (21) had a current expenditure per Negro pupil of at least \$25. Of the 59 counties which spent \$25 or more for each Negro pupil, only 15 had a Plane of Living Index below 70. A miscellaneous table (F-6) shows a similar relation-

ship between the Modern Conveniences Index and the per capita expenditure for Negro pupils.

Closely related to the length of school term and the per capita school expenditure is the percent of all the school enrollment in high school (table B-6). The median percent of the school enrollment in high school for Negro schools in the 858 counties given was 8.1. Of the 21 counties with a Plane of Living Index below 40, nearly three-fourths had less than 5 percent of their Negro school enrollment in high school. Of the 142 other counties which had an index below 50 more than two-thirds (97) had less than 5 percent of their Negro school enrollment in high school. Not until the Living Index reached 70 or more did the enrollment in Negro high schools reach a median of 10 percent. The percent of the total school enrollment in high school averages something over 20 percent in the Nation as a whole. Of the 858 southern counties given, only 51 approximated this average in their Negro schools. Of this number, 37 had a plane of living of 70 or more, while only 3 of the total fell below an Index of 50.

The median average salary for Negro high-school teachers (604 counties) was \$668 (table B-8). Twenty counties paid an average salary of less than \$400, and only 1 of these counties had a Plane of Living Index of 70 or more. Of the 65 counties which paid their Negro high-school teachers between \$400 and \$500 a year, more than half had an Index of less than 60. Of the 62 counties which paid their Negro high-school teachers an average salary of \$900 or more, more than half (34) had a Plane of Living Index of 90 or above.

While the Negro high-school teachers' salaries advanced as the Plane of Living Index increased, there was a much greater corresponding increase in the percent of Negro teachers having 2 or more years of college training (table B-10). The counties having a Plane of Living Index of 90 or above had three times as high a median percent of Negro teachers with 2 years or more of college training as did the counties having a Living Index below 40. Of the 95 counties with a Plane of Living Index of 90 or above only 6 counties had less than 60 percent of their Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training. Seven other of these counties had between 60 and 70 percent of their Negro teachers with college training, and all of the other counties with an Index of 90 or more had from 75 to 100 percent of their Negro teachers with college training. One-fourth of the total counties (476) had more than 95 percent of their teachers with at least 2 years of college training. Half of these 119 counties had a Plane of Living Index of 80 or more.

The median number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes aged 15-19 (table B-12) was nearly five times as great in the counties having a Plane of Living Index of 100 or more as in the counties having an Index of less than 40. Of the 25 counties having an Index of less than 40, 10 counties had less than 5 Negroes

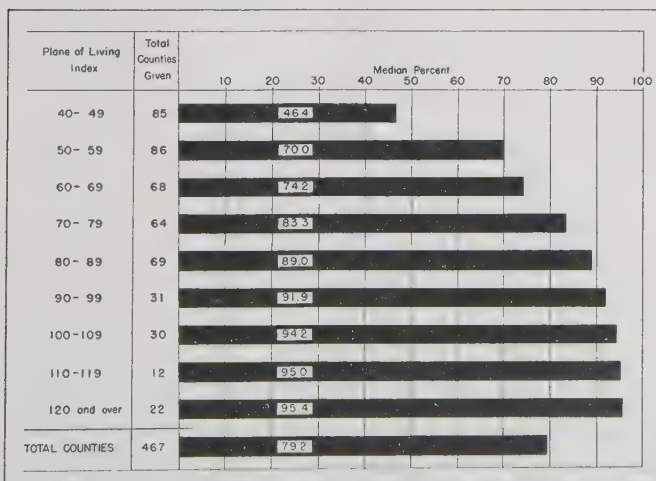


FIGURE 13. The percent of Negro teachers with two or more years of college training in relation to the Plane of Living Index.

in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age. No county in this group had more than 40 students to each 1,000 college age Negroes, and only 2 counties had 20 or more. More than a fourth of the 179 counties with a Living Index from 40-50 had fewer than 5 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age, and more than half of these counties (55.3 percent) had fewer than 10 students for each 1,000 Negro youth of college age.

One hundred and eleven of the 918 counties had 50 or more students for each 1,000 Negroes of college age. Of this 111, approximately one-third (42) were counties in which the Plane of Living Index was 90 or above. The median number of students for the total counties was 18.1, the range in the medians being from 6.6 to 32.5 students per 1,000 Negroes of college age.

Just as the Negro's educational opportunity was seen to vary with the type of county in which he lived, this section has shown it to vary with the Plane of Living Index of the county. Brief consideration will now be given to the variations in the Negroes' educational opportunity compared with the opportunity of white children, and youth in the same counties.

The Negro children in the counties with the lowest Plane of Living Index had a median average school term 85 percent as long as that of the white children in the same counties (table B-3). When the Living Index reached 90 or more the Negro children had an average term approximately as long as that of the white children, and in the 52 counties with an Index of more than 110 the median length of term for the Negro children was as long or longer than that of the white children. It appears from these data that both the white and Negro children suffer the disadvantage of short school terms in the poorer counties, but the differential in the white and Negro school terms in any group of counties is less great than the differentials in other educational indices. The median ratio of the average length of term of all the counties was 93.6.

In the current expenditure per pupil enrolled the Negro child suffered relatively a much greater handicap. The median Negro-white ratio of current expenditure (table B-5) for 410 counties was 38.3. In the 11 counties with a Plane of Living Index below 40 the median ratio of expenditure was less than 17. In 96 counties with a Plane of Living Index of 40-50 the median ratio of expenditure was less than 29. Not until the plane of living reached 60 or more did the Negro child get a third as much spent on his education as was spent on his white neighbor. In only one group of counties, the 40 which has a plane of living from 80-90, did the Negro child get as much as half (51.7 percent) the funds spent on the white child in the same county.

The Negro-white ratio of school enrollment in high school (table B-7) showed as much variation with the Plane of Living Index as did the proportion of all Negro

school enrollment in high school. For the total 858 counties the Negro schools had a little more than a third as large a percent of their total enrollment in high school as did the white schools (36.2 percent). In the 21 counties with a Plane of Living Index under 40 almost half (42.8) had less than a tenth as large a proportion of their school enrollment in high school as did the white schools in those counties. Only two groups of counties (those with indices of 80-90, and 110-119) had median ratios of more than 50.

The most striking differences in the ratios are those of the average salaries of high-school teachers (table B-9) and the percent of teachers with 2 or more years' college training (table B-11). It was noted earlier that while the Negro teachers' salaries varied relatively little from one group of counties to another, there was a great variation in the percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training. The Negro-white ratios of high-school teachers' salaries showed no consistent relationship to the Plane of Living Index. The 11 counties with a Plane of Living Index under 40 showed a median ratio of 61.2, while the 22 counties with a Plane of Living Index of 120 and over showed a median ratio of only 60. The highest median ratio was 69 for the 73 counties with a Plane of Living Index of 80-90.

The Negro-white ratios for teachers with college training were in sharp contrast to the ratios of teachers' salaries. It was seen earlier that the median percent of Negroes with college training increased from less than 30 to more than 95 as the Plane of Living Index rose from less than 40 to 120 and over. The Negro-white ratio of teachers with college training had a median of 38.3 when the plane of living was under 40; the median ratio rose to 56.5 when the Living Index was 40 to 50; and it reached 81.4 at the next interval. When the Living Index reached 90 to 100 the Negro teachers had 97 percent as much training as the white teachers. In the 30 counties with a Living Index from 100 to 109, 18 (60 percent) had a higher percentage of Negro than white teachers with college training. The median ratio of training was 87.8 whereas the median ratio of salaries was only 64.

Percent Negroes Are of the County Population

The percent which Negroes are of the population seems to have an important bearing on their educational opportunities. Yet it must be remembered that other factors enter into the situation. In the County Type analysis (table A-3) it was shown that Negroes constituted a larger proportion of the population in some types of counties than in others, and the county types with the highest economic and educational indices were not always those with the lowest Negro population. For example, the median percent of Negroes in metropolitan

counties was 26 and that of other non-farm counties only 23.9. Yet the income tax returns, the Plane of Living Index, and most of the educational indices were much higher for metropolitan than for other non-farm counties. Likewise there was a higher percentage of Negroes in the farm city than in the farm town counties (medians of 32.7 and 29.0, respectively), yet the farm city counties generally outranked the farm town counties in both economic and cultural indices.

Furthermore, the proportion that Negroes were of the population must be interpreted in the light of the fact that the highest concentration of Negro population was usually found in cotton counties, which were the regions of low planes of living and high tenancy for both the Negro and the white population. Of the 133 counties having less than 10 percent of the population Negro, only 52 were cotton counties, while of the 190 counties having 50 percent or more of the population Negro, 155 were cotton counties.

With the exception of counties having less than 10 percent of the population Negro, the Plane of Living Index dropped as the proportion of Negroes in the population increased (table C-1). In the 174 counties having 10 to 20 percent of their population Negro the median Plane of Living Index was 72.8. The Living Index dropped below the median for 964 southern counties (63.6) when the Negroes were 40 percent or more of the population. Of the 81 counties having 50 to 60 percent of their population Negro, nearly a third (30.8 percent) had a Living Index under 50. More than 46 percent of the counties with 70 to 80 percent Negroes had a Living Index under 50.

If we again except the counties having less than 10 percent Negroes, the proportion that Negroes were of the population showed a negative relationship to the degree that Negroes were urban (table D-2). When the Negroes were less than 10 percent of the population, the median percent urban was 9.3. When Negroes were from 10 to 20 percent of the population, the median percent urban was 24. Thereafter, the median percent urban dropped more or less regularly as the proportion that Negroes were of the population increased. Of the 44 counties in which Negroes were 70 to 90 percent of the population only 1 county had 40 percent or more of the Negroes in urban communities.

One significant factor in the proportion that Negroes were of the population was the percent of colored farm operators who were tenants (table C-2). For the 775 counties given, the median percent Negro tenants was 73.3. When the Negro population was less than 10 percent, the median percent of Negro tenants was 58.6. The median percent of Negro tenants rose steadily with each 10-point increase in the proportion which Negroes were of the population. When the Negroes reached 40 percent of the population, the percent of tenancy was above 76. Of the 44 counties having 70 to 90 percent

of their population Negro only 2 had less than 80 percent of their Negro farmers in the status of tenants. More than half of these counties (24) had 90 percent or more Negro tenants.

When the percent Negroes were of the population was run against the percent of Negro families owning their own homes (table C-3) there appeared a striking negative correlation which seems to be closely related to the factor of tenancy. When the Negroes were less than 10 percent of the population more than 41 percent of Negro families owned their own homes. This was the group of counties having the fewest of their farm operators tenants. With each increase in the proportion that Negroes were of the population, the percent of home ownership dropped.

The educational indices show that, in general, the Negro's opportunity decreases with the increase in the proportion that Negroes are of the population.

The average length of the Negro school term (table C-4) showed a significant relationship to the percent that Negroes were of the population. For the 110 counties having less than 10 percent Negroes the median length of term was 163 days, and nearly a third of these counties had a Negro school term of more than 170 days. With one exception the length of term dropped with each 10-point rise in the proportion that Negroes were of the population. When the Negro population reached 50 percent of the total the median length of term was less than 150 days.

With one exception the current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled (table C-6) dropped with each 10-point increase in the proportion that Negroes were of the population. For the 409 counties for which the information was available the median per capita expenditure was \$14.20. The highest median expenditure occurred in the counties having 10 to 20 percent of the population Negro. When the Negro population reached 50 percent or more the median expenditure fell to \$10 and dropped to \$7.32 in the counties having 70 to 80 percent of the population Negro. No county having 50 percent of the population Negro averaged as much as \$20 per Negro pupil, and three-fourths of all these counties averaged less than \$10 for each Negro pupil.

The percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school (table C-8) showed a significant relationship to the proportion that Negroes were of the population. The median percent for 859 counties was 8.1. When Negroes were less than 10 percent of the population the median percent of the school enrollment in high school was 12.5. When Negroes were 50 percent of the population the median percent enrollment in high school was only 5.6 percent and the median dropped to 3.1 percent when Negroes were 70 percent or more of the population. Of the 276 counties having 40 percent or more Negro population only 1 reached the national average of 20 or more percent of the school population in high school.

The average salary of Negro high-school teachers (table C-10) decreased slightly with the increase in the proportion that Negroes were of the population. The sharpest decrease was from \$827 to \$731 when the Negro population increased from less than 10 to 20 percent, and again a decrease from \$550 to \$417 when the Negro population increased in the two 10-point intervals from 60 to 80. The median salary for the 605 counties given was \$668.

As the proportion Negroes were of the population increased, there was a steady decrease in the percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training (table C-12). When the Negro population was less than 10 percent of the total more than half the counties had 90 percent or more of their Negro teachers with at least 2 years of college training. When the Negro population was as much as 30 percent of the total the median percent of teachers with college training dropped to 78.2, which was slightly less than the median for the total 477 counties. When the Negro population was 60 to 70 percent of the total the median percent of trained teachers dropped below 50. When the Negro population was 70 percent or more of the total only about one-third of the teachers were college trained.

The number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 (table C-14) was highest (29.2) in those counties in which there was less than 10 percent of the population Negro. The median number dropped to 18.8 when the Negro population was 20 to 30 percent of the total, but rose above 20 at the next interval. The median number of students fell to 8.9 when the Negroes were 60 to 70 percent of the popula-

tion and rose again to 9.8 when Negroes were 70 to 80 percent of the county's population. The median for the 918 counties given was 18.1 Negro students for each 1,000 Negroes 15-19.

Turning to the tables which indicate the relative educational opportunity of Negro and white children in the same counties, it appears that in the counties with less than 10 percent of the population Negro the Negro-white ratio of the average length of school term (table C-5) has a median of over 100, and less than 15 percent of the counties in this group of 109 had ratios of less than 90. Even when Negroes were 10 to 20 percent of the population nearly half the counties had an average school term for Negro children as long as the average term for white children. Not until the Negro population was 50 percent or over did the median ratio of the school term drop below 90. When the Negro population reached 60 percent or over only 11 out of 84 counties had a ratio of 90 or over. The lowest median ratio was 79.5 when the Negro population was from 70 to 80 of the total.

The most striking relationship of the proportion that Negroes were of the population to a Negro-white educational ratio was that of the current expenditure per pupil enrolled (table C-7). When Negroes were less than 10 percent of the population, the Negro child received 67.2 percent as much of the school funds as the white child (the median ratio of per capita current expenditure). The proportion of school funds received dropped steadily with each interval of increase in the Negro population. When Negroes were 50 percent or more of the population more than a third of the counties gave for the education of each Negro child, on the average, less than 20 cents for each dollar given for the education of a white child. When the Negroes were 60 to 70 percent of the population almost two-thirds of the counties (63.0) had a Negro-white ratio of expenditure below 20. The median ratio of expenditure for the counties of 70 to 80 percent Negro population was 14.6.

In relation to the percent which Negroes were of the population, the Negro-white ratios of the proportion of school enrollment in high school (table C-9) were almost as striking as those of the current expenditures per pupil. When the Negro population was less than 10 percent of the total, the median Negro-white ratio of enrollment in high school was 63.3, and more than a fourth of the counties has a percentage of their Negro school enrollment in high school as large or larger than that of the white schools. The ratios dropped steadily with each 10-point increase in the proportion of Negroes. When Negroes were 70 to 80 percent of the population the median Negro-white ratio of high-school enrollment was only 14.6.

When Negroes were less than 10 percent of the population the Negro high-school teachers received a median average salary that was 79.2 percent of that received

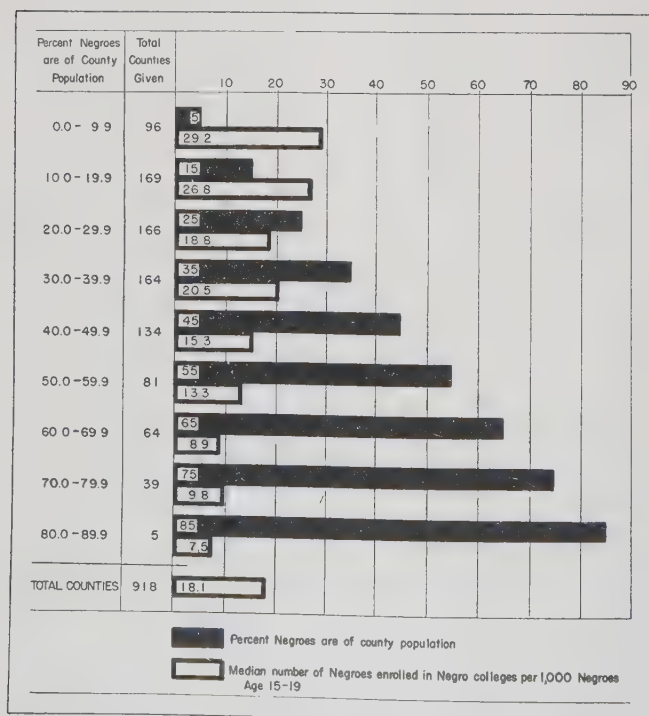


FIGURE 14. The number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19, in relation to the percent Negroes are of the county population.

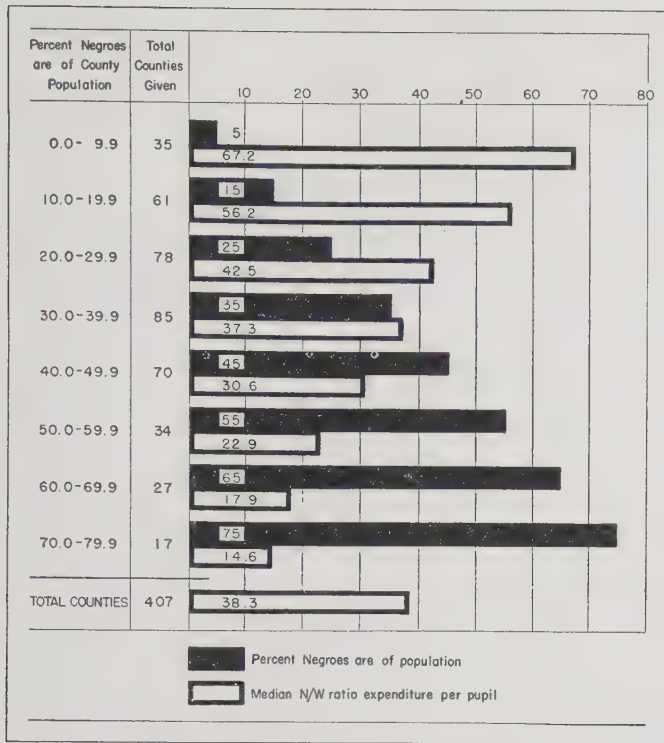


FIGURE 15. The Negro-white ratio current expenditure per pupil enrolled in relation to the percent Negroes are of county population.

by white teachers in the same counties (table C-11). The median Negro-white ratio of salaries dropped with each 10-point increase in the proportion of Negroes until they reached 60 to 70 percent of the population. There was a slight increase of the ratio at this level, after which the ratio dropped to 47.5 when the Negro population was 70 to 80 percent of the total.

Whereas the highest median ratio of salaries for Negro and white teachers was less than 80, the median of the Negro-white ratio of teachers with college training was more than 96 when Negroes were less than 10 percent of the population (table C-13). More than a third of these counties in this group had a larger proportion of Negro than of white teachers with 2 years' college training. Of the 249 counties having less than 30 percent Negroes, 150 had at least 90 percent as many Negro as white teachers with college training. The median ratio dropped regularly with each 10-point interval of increase in the Negro population. When Negroes were 70 to 80 percent of the population the median ratio was only 38.7.

It should be noted that as the percent Negroes are of the population increases, the Negro-white ratios drop much more sharply than do the Negro school indices. Thus in counties which have a high percent of Negroes, not only do the Negro schools tend to be poorer than in other counties, but the white schools tend to be better due to greater inequality in the per capita distribution of available funds.

Percent of Negro Population That is Urban

The tables run against County Types suggested that urbanization was an important factor in the economic and educational opportunities of both the total and the Negro population. However, when urbanization of Negroes alone was considered, there was not a consistent relationship to the various educational indices.

The Plane of Living Index (table D-1), which refers to the total population, rose unevenly as the percent of Negroes who were urban increased. In the 503 counties in which less than 10 percent of the Negroes were urban the median Plane of Living Index was slightly less than 58. The median living index was approximately the same when Negroes were 20 to 30 or 30 to 40 percent urban. It rose steadily only after Negroes were 60 percent or more urban. When Negroes were more than 80 percent urban, more than half the counties had an index of 100 or over.

As pointed out earlier, there is generally a negative but not consistent relationship between the urbanization of Negroes and the percent Negroes are of the population (table D-2). When Negroes were less than 10 percent urban the median percent they were of the population was 34.4. When Negroes were 10 to 20 percent urban the median percent they were of the population was 38.7. The distribution was uneven from this interval on, though the trend was generally downward. However, in only 5 of the 84 counties in which the Negroes were 60 or more percent urban did they constitute as much as 40 percent of the population, whereas in the 881 counties in which Negroes were less than 60 percent urban more than a third (319) of the counties had 40 percent or more of the total population Negro.

Turning to the educational indices it appears that the average length of the Negro school term (table D-3) generally increased with the percent of the Negro population that was urban. The lowest median length of term was 153 days when Negroes were less than 10 percent urban; it rose to 179 days when Negroes were more than 90 percent urban. Of the 117 counties having 50 percent or more urban Negroes only 6 counties had an average term of less than 150 days. Of the 126 counties which had an average term of less than 140 days, no county had as much as 50 percent of the Negro population urban.

The current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled (table D-5) also showed a gradual but uneven rise as the percent of Negroes who were urban increased. All groups of counties in which the percent of urban Negroes was below 40 had a median per capita expenditure of less than \$15. But of the 63 counties having 40 percent or more of the Negroes urban only 11 spent less than \$15 per Negro pupil.

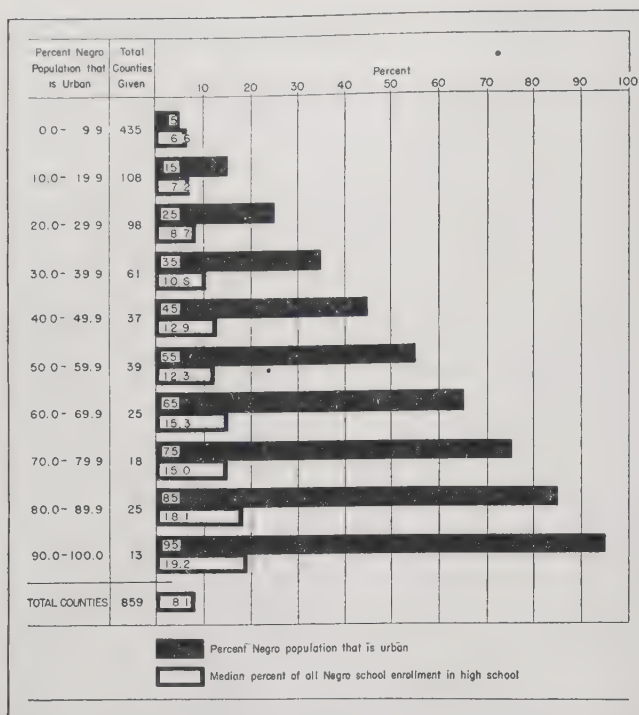


FIGURE 16. The percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school in relation to the percent of Negro population that is urban.

When the Negro population was less than 10 percent urban the median percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school (table D-7) was 6.6. Of the 435 counties in this group nearly half (214) had less than 5 percent of the school enrollment in high school and only 8 counties had 20 percent or more. Not until Negroes were 60 percent or more urban did the median percent enrollment in high school exceed 15.

Of the 253 counties given in which the Negro population was less than 10 percent urban the median average salary for Negro high-school teachers (table D-9) was \$636. There was no consistent increase in the median salaries with the increase in the proportion of the Negro population that was urban. However, of the 85 counties which paid average salaries to Negro high-school teachers of less than \$500, only 4 had 50 percent or more of the Negro population urban. On the other hand, of the 101 counties with 50 percent or more of the Negroes urban, more than half (53) paid an average salary of \$800 or more.

Of the counties in which less than 10 percent of the Negro population was urban, the median percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training (table D-11) was slightly less than 72. The median percent of teachers with training increased to more than 90 when the Negro population was 40 to 50 percent urban. When the Negro population was more than 60 percent urban more than half of the counties had 95 percent or more of their teachers with at least 2 years of college training.

When the number of Negroes in college per 1,000 Negroes of age 15-19 was considered (table D-13) it was found that the median number of students was

almost seven times as great in the counties of greatest urbanization as in those in which the Negroes were less than 10 percent urban. In the 461 counties in which less than 10 percent of the Negroes were urban more than a fourth (125 counties) had less than 5 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age. In the 124 counties in which Negroes were 50 percent or more urban only 1 county had less than 10 Negro students per 1,000 Negroes of college age, while 23 counties had from 80 to more than 100 students for the same number of Negroes.

In the educational opportunity which Negro children enjoy relative to that of white children in the same counties there seems to be little difference in the average length of school term (table D-4). Even in the least urban counties the Negro children had more than 90 percent as long a school term as that of the white children. More than a fourth of the 434 counties in this group had a term as long or longer than the white children. Comparison of this table with that of the actual length of the Negro school term with reference to the various degrees of urbanization (table D-3) shows that there was in this case a greater difference in the Negro school terms in the counties with different degrees of urbanization than there was difference between the Negro and white terms in the same counties.

In the Negro-white ratio of current expenditures per pupil enrolled (table D-6) the ratio of expenditure showed no consistent increase with the increase in the urbanization of Negroes.

The median Negro-white ratio of the percent of all school enrollment in high school (table D-8) was less than 25 in the 435 counties in which the Negro population was less than 10 percent urban. The fact that approximately one-fourth as many Negro as white school children reached high school probably reflects, among other things, the lack of Negro high schools in many rural areas. There was a general increase in the ratio of enrollment as the percent of the Negroes who were urban increased. However, the rise was not an even one. Not until Negroes were 80 percent or more urban were there approximately three-fourths as many Negroes as white children reaching high school.

The median Negro-white ratios of salaries of high-school teachers (D-10) varied no more than 17 points between the highest and the lowest groups of counties. There was no consistent relationship between the median ratios and the percent of the Negro population that was urban.

In contrast to the salary ratios, the Negro-white ratios of the percent of teachers with 2 or more years' college training (table D-12) were relatively high. The lowest median ratio of 80.7 was found in the 221 counties in which Negroes were less than 10 percent urban. When the Negroes were 60 percent or more urban the median ratios were 100 or over.

Location of the County With Respect to Negro Colleges

In order to check the possible relation of the presence or absence of one or more Negro colleges to other indices, the total 966 counties were grouped with reference to the location of Negro colleges. Group I includes the 22 counties each of which had two or more Negro colleges in the county. Group II includes 66 counties each of which had one Negro college in the county. Each of the 299 counties in Group III had no college in the county but each was adjacent to a county in which there was one or more Negro colleges. Of the 579 counties in Group IV none had a college either in the county or in an adjacent county.

Reference of the County Type Tables (A-11) shows that of the 22 Group I counties in which there were more than one college, 14 were metropolitan counties, 1 was a farm other than cotton county, and 7 were cotton counties. Of the 66 Group II counties having one Negro college each, 20 were metropolitan, 9 were farm other than cotton, and 29 were cotton counties. Of the 299 Group III counties each of which had no Negro college in the county but one in the adjacent county, 9 were metropolitan counties, 9 were other nonfarm counties, 98 were farm other than cotton counties, and 183 were cotton counties. Of the 579 Group IV counties farthest removed from any Negro college 23 were metropolitan, 41 were other nonfarm, 206 were farm other than cotton and 309 were cotton counties.

These four groups of counties were tested against four basic factors, the Plane of Living Index (table E-1), the Percent Negroes Were of the Population (table E-2), the Percent Negroes Were Urban (table E-3) and the Percent of Colored Farm Operators Who Were Tenants (table E-4). When so grouped, the following distribution appeared:

County group	Number of counties	Median Plane of Living	Median percent Negro	Percent of counties having some Negroes urban	Median percent tenancy
1	2	3	4	5	6
GROUP I: Two or more Negro colleges in county	22	90.0	36.7	90.7	78.3
GROUP II: One Negro college in county	66	75.4	36.0	83.3	71.1
GROUP III: One or more Negro colleges in adjacent county	299	63.0	35.1	49.0	74.5
GROUP IV: No Negro college in the county or in adjacent county	579	62.3	27.5	52.5	72.5

It will be noted that the median Plane of Living Index, and the percent Negroes were urban were higher in the Group I counties having two or more colleges each, and next highest in the Group II counties which had one college each. There is a wide gap between the medians of the first two groups of counties in which there were colleges and the medians of the second two groups of counties in which there were no colleges.

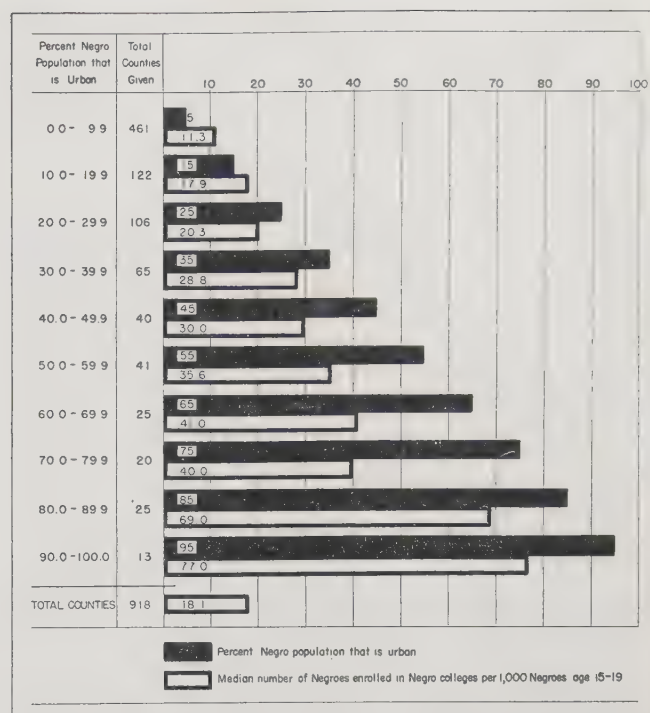


FIGURE 17. The number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in relation to the percent of Negro population that is urban.

The difference between the medians of the counties in Group III and in Group IV with reference to these items was very slight.

There was relatively little difference in the four groups of counties with reference to the percent Negroes were of the population, except the median percent was somewhat lower in Group IV. The median percent of Negro farm tenancy was above 70 in all four groups, the highest median percent being in the counties having two or more Negro colleges. This median appears the more unusual since this group of counties has only a slightly higher proportion of Negroes than the other three groups and it ranked much higher in Plane of Living Index and urbanization.

The educational indices with reference to the location of Negro colleges are even more difficult to explain. Using the foregoing Negro educational data the distribution is as follows:¹⁰

County group	Average length of Negro school term	Current expenditure per Negro pupil	Percent all Negro school enrollment in high school	Average salaries of Negro high-school teachers	Percent Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college	Number Negroes in college per 1,000 Negroes 15-19
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
GROUP I: Two or more Negro colleges in county	163.3	\$14.17	13.3	\$825	96.1	60.0
GROUP II: One Negro college in county	163.9	15.71	12.5	712	91.3	40.0
GROUP III: One or more Negro colleges in adjacent county	154.4	13.17	7.5	642	78.0	16.8
GROUP IV: No Negro college in the county or in adjacent county	157.5	15.10	7.7	676	76.6	16.4

¹⁰ Figures indicate the median for the group of counties given. See tables E-7, E-9, E-11, E-13, and E-15.

Aside from the question whether the presence of one or more Negro colleges affects favorably the general educational situation in a county, it is difficult to explain why the Group I counties do not make a better showing. It has been pointed out that these counties have the highest median Plane of Living Index and the highest percent of the Negro population urban. Each of these factors tends to be associated with relatively high educational indices. Yet only in the number of Negro students in college and to a lesser extent in Negro teachers' salaries are the medians of Group I significantly higher than those of Group II. In the average length of school term and in the per capita expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled the Group II counties rank slightly higher than those in Group I.

There are in most of the items significant differences in the first two groups of counties in which there was one or more colleges and in the second two groups in which there was no college. Yet, again leaving aside the question of the influence of the colleges, this difference is hardly so great as the difference in urbanization and the Plane of Living Index would suggest. In this case there is a considerable difference in the proportion of all school enrollment in high school, in Negro students in college, and in Negro teachers' salaries.

When the relationship between Groups III and IV are considered it appears that in all but two of the educational factors the counties in Group IV show a higher median than those in Group III. The two slight exceptions are the students in Negro colleges and the Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training. The Group IV counties had a median Plane of Living Index almost as high as that of the Group III counties. They had a lower median percent of Negroes in the population, a lower median percent of Negro tenancy, and a higher percent of Negroes who were urban. The other tables have shown that superior educational advantages are usually associated with a high Plane of Living and a high degree of urbanization and with low percent of tenancy and low percent of Negroes in the population. It appears reasonable, therefore, to suggest that the nearness to a Negro college of the counties in Group III raises the median percent of Negro students in college and of Negro teachers with college training, and that the fact of a lower percentage of Negroes and a higher degree of urbanization may account for the other educational indices being higher in the Group IV counties.

There still appears to be no reasonable explanation as to why the Group I counties with their higher median Plane of Living Index and greater urbanization should not show relatively higher educational indices than the Group II counties. It is true that the Group I counties show a higher tenancy rate, and a slightly higher percent of Negroes, both of which are usually found associated with cotton counties and with low educational

indices. Possibly these facts affect this group of counties so that even their urbanization and higher Plane of Living do not bring their educational indices to the expected level. The small number of counties in Group I for which information was available should be taken into consideration.

Another factor which might possibly affect the situation is the provision made in many Negro colleges for elementary and secondary education. The attendance of Negro children in private schools might bring down the per capita expenditure and the percent of school enrollment in high school since these figures are based on public-school expenditures and enrollment. However, this factor does not seem significant enough to offset the tendency of high educational indices to be associated with urbanization and a high Plane of Living.

In this connection attention may be called to three of the miscellaneous tables which give some light on the factors affecting the number of Negro students in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19. There was found to be a significant relationship between the percent of all school enrollment in high school (table F-2) and the number of students in college. There was a less striking relationship between the percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training (table F-3) and the number of Negro students in college. Another table (F-4) showed that the median percent of Negro students in college decreased from more than 58 when less than 10 percent of Negro farmers were tenants to less than 6 when more than 90 percent of Negro farmers were tenants.

The Negro-white ratios of the educational indices show a distribution similar to that of the Negro data alone.¹¹

County group	N/W ratio average length of term	N/W ratio current expendi- ture per pupil enrolled	N/W ratio all school enroll- ment in high school	N/W ratio average salary high- school teachers	N/W ratio percent teachers with 2 or more years' college
1	2	3	4	5	6
GROUP I: Two or more Negro colleges in county.....	98.0	40.0	50.0	67.5	100+
GROUP II: One Negro college in county.....	95.9	35.6	47.0	60.9	94.4
GROUP III: One or more Negro colleges in adjacent county.....	91.3	34.0	34.4	61.9	86.7
GROUP IV: No Negro college in county or in adjacent county.....	94.3	41.1	35.1	65.6	86.4

While the median indices of Group I counties were, with minor exceptions, higher than the median indices in the other groups, the differences were not great, and the median of current expenditure for Group IV counties was more than one point higher than that of Group I. The Negro-white ratios of the length of

¹¹ Figures indicate the medians for the groups of counties given. See tables E-6, E-8, E-10, E-12, and E-14.

school term, and of teachers' salaries varied less than 7 points in any case. The Negro-white ratio of teachers with 2 or more years' college training varied in much the same way that the percent of Negro teachers with such training varied.

Whatever the factors which may account for the relatively poor showing of the Group I counties, one negative factor stands out. The presence of one or more Negro colleges in a county does not appear to have any significant effect on either the current expenditure per Negro pupil or on the Negro-white ratio of expenditure. The difference in length of school term, percent of school enrollment in high school, and high-school teachers' salaries are no greater than would be expected due to the difference in urbanization and Plane of Living. This is true of both the data for Negroes and the Negro-white ratios.

The two indices in which the presence or absence of one or more colleges seem to be significant are the number of Negro teachers with college training and the number of Negro students in college. In both of these factors Group I counties with two or more colleges ranked highest, and Group IV counties which are farthest from colleges ranked lowest. The difference in the number of Negro students was most striking. In Group I counties the median number of students was 60, while in Group II the median was only 40. This difference suggests that the fact of living at home may be important. There was practically no difference in the median number of students in Groups III and IV, although Group IV had slightly better rank in some other indices, and had both a smaller percent of Negroes and slightly greater urbanization than the counties in Group III. The economic advantage which these factors usually indicate may have been overcome by the factor of distance from college.

Socio-Economic Factors and Educational Opportunity

To summarize the results of the various tabulations, it is clear that not only the County Type but each of the four other basic factors shows a significant relationship to some aspect of the Negro's educational opportunity and to the Negro-white ratio of opportunity as well. With reference to the County Type, it was seen that in almost every educational index the non-farm counties ranked higher than the farm counties. The farm other than cotton counties ranked higher than cotton counties and industrially diversified farm counties generally ranked higher than farm counties with no such diversification. Almost all the educational indices were highest in metropolitan counties, and they generally declined steadily with ruralization. The one exception to this general trend was the fact that even urban cotton counties sometimes fell below rural counties which were not cotton.

When the factors other than the county type were considered they showed an important bearing on both the actual and the relative opportunity of Negroes. The Plane of Living Index followed the county type pattern fairly closely. That is, the county types which showed high educational indices were also the types in which there was a high Plane of Living Index. The metropolitan counties showed the highest Plane of Living Index; it was higher in non-farm than in farm counties; and it declined with ruralization. However, even when the urban cotton counties (only those having cities of 10,000 to 25,000 population) were considered, this group was found to have a lower median Plane of Living than rural non-cotton counties.

In general both the Plane of Living and the educational indices showed a positive relationship to the percent of the Negro population that was urban, and a negative relationship to the proportion that Negroes were of the population. That is, the higher the degree of urbanization of Negroes the higher the Plane of Living for the total county, and, generally speaking, the smaller the proportion that Negroes were of the population. However, there was not a consistent relationship in every case, and a high degree of urbanization of Negroes was not always associated with a low proportion of Negroes in the population.

In other words, certain types of counties (notably non-farm and particularly the metropolitan group of non-farm counties) usually had a high Plane of Living Index, and a high percentage of their Negroes urban. These were also the counties which had high educational indices (whether Negro or Negro-white ratios), and usually, but not always, a relatively small proportion of Negroes.

On the other hand the rural counties, the cotton counties, and the non-industrial farm counties, were likely to have a low Plane of Living Index, a small percent of urban Negroes (there were of course no urban Negroes in the rural group) and a high proportion of Negroes in the population. In these counties the Negro educational indices and the Negro-white ratios were low.

These facts indicate that certain factors tend to be associated with high educational and cultural indices, but some of these factors appear to be more important than others, or perhaps it should be said that certain of these factors tend to modify the effect of others. Thus when increase in the proportion that Negroes are of the population is taken alone it is usually associated with a decrease in the Plane of Living and, almost always, with a decrease in both the Negro educational indices and the ratios. Likewise when urbanization is taken alone an increase in the percent which Negroes are urban is associated with increases in both the Plane of Living and the educational indices, though this relationship is not a consistent one.

When the urbanization of Negroes and the proportion which Negroes are of the population are considered together they show an interesting relationship. The two factors work in opposite directions, that is the educational indices tend to increase with urbanization and to decrease as the proportion Negroes are of the population increases. But the counties with the smallest proportion of Negroes (less than 10 percent) do not have, as a group, nearly such high educational indices as the group of counties having the highest percent of Negroes urban. On the other hand, the group of counties having less than 10 percent of the Negroes urban never falls so low in its educational indices as does the group of counties having the highest percent of its population Negro. That is, when the two factors are taken separately the counties with highest urbanization show much higher educational indices than the counties with the fewest Negroes. (It should be remembered that counties having less than 5 percent Negro population are not considered in this study.)

Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the metropolitan counties which have the highest Plane of Living and the highest educational indices (Negro or Negro-white ratio) also have a higher median percent Negroes in the population than do other non-farm counties, or farm counties other than cotton. It is also true that farm city counties (cities of 10,000 to 25,000 population) have a higher median percent of Negroes than farm town counties (cities of 2,500 to 10,000 population) though the farm city counties usually outrank the farm town counties in Plane of Living and educational indices. The median percent of Negroes in the farm city counties was almost as high as that of the rural counties. It seems clear, therefore, that while a high proportion of Negroes has a downward pull as far as their educational opportunity is concerned this factor is greatly modified by increase in urbanization.

Furthermore, cotton seems to be more important as a negative factor in educational indices than urbanization is a positive factor. For one thing more than 53 percent of the farm other than cotton counties had all their Negro population rural, while only 48 percent of the cotton counties had all Negroes rural. Yet the median Plane of Living and the medians of all educational indices of the farm other than cotton counties were higher than those of the cotton counties. Moreover, not only did the group of cotton counties (which included urban but not metropolitan counties) have lower median indices than the group of all rural counties (including rural cotton) but unpublished tables show that the rural non-cotton counties had a higher median Plane of Living than that of the group of cotton

counties which had cities of 10,000 to 25,000 population. Thus while urbanization tends to pull up the cultural and educational indices in spite of the proportion which Negroes are of the population, cotton pulls the indices down in spite of urbanization.

There is thus some reason to suggest that cotton may be a more important factor in low educational indices than either ruralization or the proportion which Negroes are of the population. However, since cotton counties constitute the group which also has the largest percent of Negroes it is difficult to disassociate the two factors. As cotton is associated with a high rate of tenancy for both white and colored farm operators, and tenancy itself is associated with a low plane of living and poor educational indices, there is added basis for the assumption that the cotton system itself is a major factor in the low indices for both the white and the Negro population. When cotton, ruralization, and a high percentage of Negroes are combined—as they are in more than a fourth of the 966 counties—the Negro has least opportunity of all, whether considered in relation to Negroes in other types of counties or in relation to the white persons of his own county.

The location of the county with respect to Negro colleges showed no consistent relationship to most of the educational indices. The group of counties with two or more colleges each had only two median indices higher than those of the group of counties having one college each. These were the number of teachers with 2 or more years' college training and the percent of Negroes of college age in college. But as the first group of counties was largely metropolitan and as they had both a higher median plane of living and a larger percent of Negroes urban there was every reason to expect that all their educational indices would be higher.

Between the two groups of counties having one or more colleges and the two groups in which there was none there was a significant difference in the Negro teachers with college training, the Negro students in college, and the proportion of all school enrollment in high school. There was less difference in the teachers' salaries, and no difference at all in per capita expenditure per Negro pupil. There was even less difference in the Negro-white ratios. It is strikingly evident that the presence of one or more Negro colleges and the number of educated Negroes in the county—as evidenced both by the students in college and the Negro teachers with college training—showed no apparent influence on the white persons who determine educational policy and control the expenditure of public school funds.

Chapter V. State Analyses

THE THIRD chapter of this volume was given to a discussion of the social and economic problems of the South and the special problems of the Negro within the Southern area. While the 16 Southern States were treated as a whole, recognition was given to the fact that the South is made up of inter-related sub-regions which, because of political boundaries, are treated as groups of States. Specific attention was given to the Southeast as a relatively homogeneous region in which is found the greatest concentration of the Negro population.

In the third chapter State lines were ignored and the South was treated as a region made up of counties which could be classified in various ways, with reference to economy, industrialization, urbanization, the proportion of Negroes, the Plane of Living Index, or the location of Negro colleges. These various factors were then considered in relation to significant educational indices.

In the present chapter these counties are put back within their respective State boundaries. The State as a combination of counties is presented in the form of a map drawn on county lines, each map accompanied by a brief summary of significant information regarding the State.

Observation of the maps will reveal, (1) the number of Negroes in each county, (2) the County Type (economy, industrialization, and urbanization indicated by a tripartite symbol), (3) the quartile rank of each county with reference to the proportion of its college age Negroes in college (ranked with 979 other southern counties), (4) the location and type of each Negro college (whether public or private, 2- or 4-year, and whether offering graduate or professional work) and (5) the location of trade centers and the counties using each trade center for retail shopping. The trade centers are used to give some idea of the general direction of communication lines.

The legend facing each map makes possible an easy reading of the symbols.

With the aid of the map it is possible to locate the areas of heaviest Negro population in each State and to see the nature of the area in which this population is found. The county analysis showed certain factors to be of significance in limiting the Negro's opportunity, these factors being a cotton economy and lack of industrialization and ruralization. The maps enable one to see how the counties of each State are distributed with reference to these factors.

It is possible to see each Negro college in relation to the location and type of other institutions, and also

the location and type of the various institutions with reference to the Negro population and the social and economic factors associated with the county types. It will be noted immediately that the colleges of some States are concentrated in a given area which is not always the area of heaviest Negro population.

The material given on the page opposite each map is designed as a brief summary of important population, social, economic, and educational data. Some of the data are taken from the 1930 United States Census and represent State averages.

It should be noted that some of the figures are based on the distribution of counties within the State and are not averages for the State as a whole. Wherever the word "median" occurs the figure is that of the middle county in the total number of counties in the State for which information was given with reference to the specific item in question.

The tables from which these medians are taken will be found in the State tables in Appendix C. The State tables show the distribution of the counties in each State with reference to the plane of living, urbanization of Negroes, the proportion Negroes were of the population, and the educational indices.

In the summary opposite each map no account has been taken of the fact that information was sometimes lacking for certain counties within the State. The median is that of the counties given. The number of counties given or not given for any specific item may be found by referring to the State tables. It should be noted that data were given only for those counties having 5 percent or more Negroes in the population.

Maps are included for the 16 Southern States and Missouri. However, Missouri counties were not typed and school data by counties were not secured for the State. The data for the District of Columbia appear on the page with the data for Delaware.

The maps and State summaries appear in alphabetical order.

This study was begun in 1939 and the 1940 Census data are not available as the volume goes to press. Certain preliminary reports from the 1940 Census indicate that the total picture has not changed greatly enough to affect the validity of the findings.

Unless otherwise indicated, the data in the State summaries are from the 1930 U. S. States Census except school data which, with the exceptions noted, are of 1937-38, from State Departments of Education and U. S. Office of Education reports.

For details of dates and sources of data used on the maps see pages 122-23.

Alabama

Population

Total population 2,646,248; Negro population 944,834, or 35.7 percent of the total. Of the 67 counties in Alabama, 61 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro, while 18 counties had 50 percent or more of the population Negro. Of these 18 counties 4 had 75 percent or more Negroes. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Alabama increased 17.5 percent; the Negro population 4.9 percent. Of the Negroes born in Alabama 22.1 percent were living in other States, while 6.4 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 47 percent were under 20 years of age; 47 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 28.1 percent of the total population were urban—28 percent of the white population and 28.4 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 11.2 in the percent Negroes were urban. Thirty-three counties (49.2 percent) had no urban Negroes, while 5 counties had 50 percent or more of the Negro population urban. Three counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the 67 counties in Alabama only 3 were non-farm counties, and all of these were metropolitan. There was only 1 farm county in the State with a basic economy other than cotton. Of the 63 cotton counties 57 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro.

Twenty-four of the total farm counties were industrially diversified; 40 had no industrial diversification.

Three of the counties were metropolitan; there were no other non-farm counties; there were 8 farm city counties (10,000 to 25,000 population); 23 farm town counties (2,500 to 10,000 population) and 33 rural counties.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city. Thus IA1 is a cotton county with no industrial diversification and a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked IIBO is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, and rural. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Several counties in Alabama use retail shopping centers in other States (Columbus, Ga.; Rome, Ga.; and Chattanooga, Tenn.) while two counties in Tennessee use Florence, Ala., as a retail trade center. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Slightly more than half of all the Negro gainful workers (51.3 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 19.9 percent were in domestic and personal service; 14.4 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 1.9 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators 17 percent were owners and 83 percent were tenants. Six counties had more than 90 percent of the Negro farm operators in the status of tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 61 Alabama counties with 5 percent or more Negroes was 47.4. None of these counties had an Index of 80 or more and only 3 counties were above 60. Thirty-nine of the 61 counties had an Index under 50.

The per capita wealth of the total State population for 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$988, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States 1939) was 83.

In home ownership, 41.7 percent of the white families, and 20.1 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 4.9 percent of the native white population and 26.2 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term was 138.6 days, and this was 92.6 percent as long as the term for white children (median ratio). The median annual current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was \$10.43, which was 31.7 percent of the white school expenditure (median ratio). The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 3.4, which was 19.7 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers' was \$537.50, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 52.1. The median percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was 36.7; and the median Negro-white ratio of teachers with such training was 44.0. There were 20 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age, (1938-39, all counties).

When 63 Alabama counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked) 4 Alabama counties were in the highest quartile, 15 in the second quartile, 25 in the third, and 19 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

- Miles Memorial College (4-year; private), Birmingham, Jefferson County.
- Oakwood College (2-year; private), Huntsville, Madison County.
- Payne University (4-year; private), Birmingham, Jefferson County (Moved from Dallas County where it appears on the map).
- Selma University (4-year; private), Selma, Dallas County.
- State Agricultural and Mechanical Institute (4-year; public), Normal, Madison County.
- State Teachers College (4-year; public), Montgomery, Montgomery County.
- State Teachers College (2-year; public), Mobile Branch, Mobile County.
- Stillman Institute (2-year; private), Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa County.
- Talladega College (4-year; private), Talledega, Talledega County.
- Tuskegee Institute (4-year; private), Tuskegee, Macon County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area¹

3. - Location of a trade center¹

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

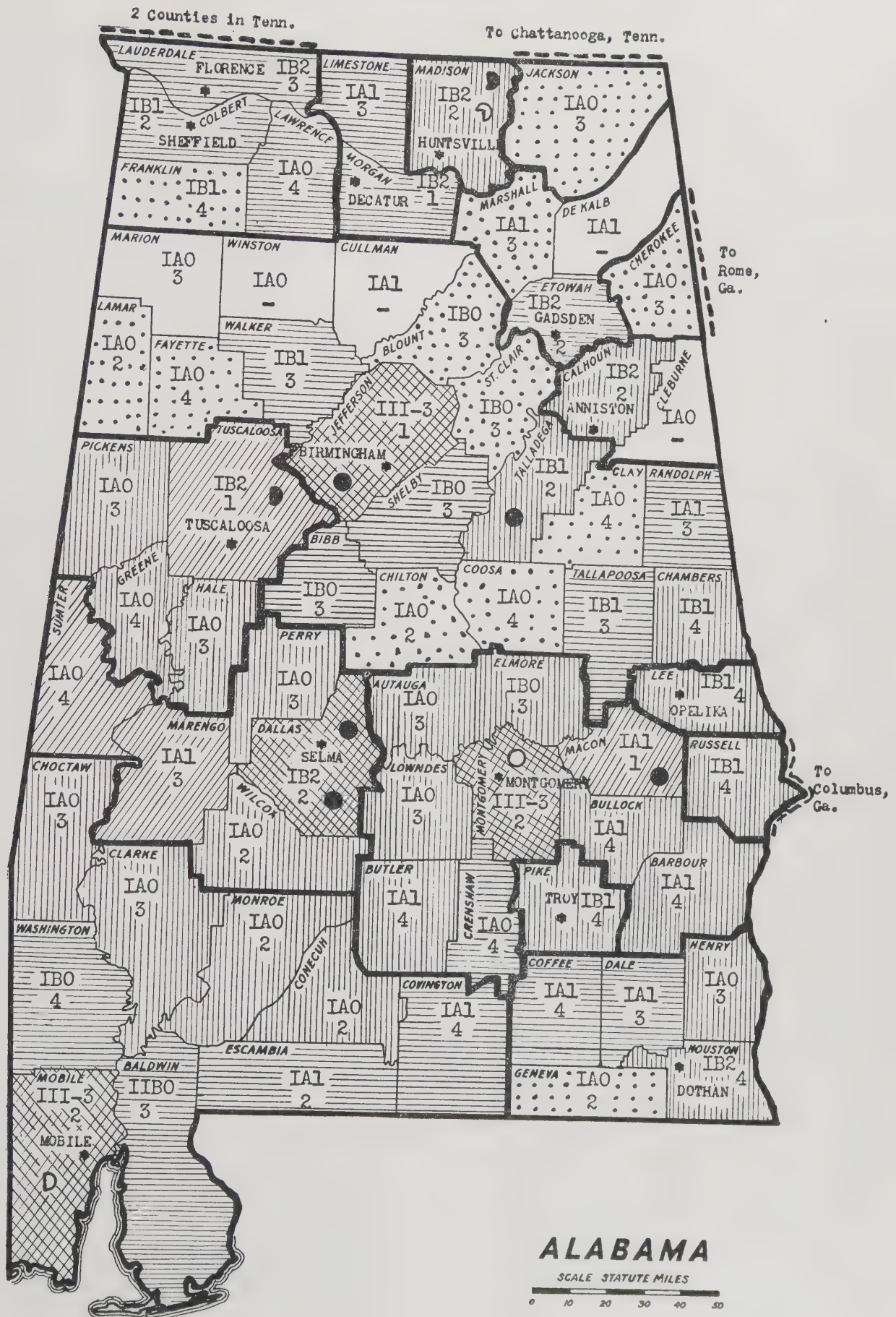
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

¹ Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Arkansas

Population

Total population 1,854,482; Negro population 478,463, or 25.8 percent of the total. Of the 75 counties in Arkansas only 45 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro. However, 9 counties had 50 percent or more Negroes and 1 of these 9 had 75 percent or more Negroes. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Arkansas increased 7.5 percent; the Negro population 1.3 percent. Of the Negroes born in Arkansas 24.3 percent were living in other States, while 28.6 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere.

Of the total population, 45.8 percent were under 20 years of age; 44 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 20.6 percent of the total population were urban—21.3 percent of the white population, and 18.6 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 5.2 in the percent Negroes were urban. Of the 45 counties with 5 percent or more Negroes 13 (28.9 percent) had no urban Negroes, while 3 counties had 50 percent or more of their Negro population urban. Two counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the total 75 counties in Arkansas only 3 were non-farm counties, of which 2 were metropolitan and 1, other non-farm. Only 8 were farm counties other than cotton, and only 1 of the 8 had 5 percent or more Negroes. Of the 64 cotton counties, 41 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro.

Twenty-eight of the total farm counties were industrially diversified; while 44 had no such diversification.

Two of the total counties were metropolitan; 1 was other non-farm, 5 were farm city counties (10,000 to 25,000 population); 36 were farm town counties (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 31 were rural. Of the 31 rural counties only 13 had 5 percent or more Negroes.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city. Thus IAO is a cotton county with no industrial diversification and no town. A county marked IIB1 is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, with a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas, that is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Several counties in Arkansas use retail shopping centers in other States (Memphis, Tenn., and Texarkana, Tex.); while two counties in Oklahoma use Fort Smith, Ark., as a retail trade center. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Nearly two-thirds of all the Negro gainful workers (65.2 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 14.9 percent were in

domestic and personal service; 10.4 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 1.9 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators 14.4 percent were owners and 85.6 percent were tenants. Seven counties had more than 90 percent of their Negro farm operators in the status of tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 45 Arkansas counties with 5 percent or more Negro was 51.4. Only 1 of the counties had an Index of 80 or more, and only 7 counties were above 60. Twenty of the 45 counties had an Index under 50.

The per capita wealth of the total population for 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (the World Almanac, 1940) was \$770, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States 1939) was 112.

In home ownership, 44.7 percent of the white families and 22.5 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 3.5 percent of the native white, and 16.1 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term was 143.2 days, and this was 95.4 percent as long as the term for white children (median ratio). The median annual current expenditure for each Negro pupil enrolled was \$9.70, or 36.5 percent of the white expenditure (median ratio). The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 3.6, or 18.2 percent of the proportion of the white enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$612.50, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 80. The median percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was 56.4; and the median ratio to white teachers with such training was 73.6. There were 18.8 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 48 Arkansas counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked) 9 Arkansas counties were in the highest quartile, 9 in the second, and 15 each in the third and fourth quartiles. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

There were 6 colleges for Negroes in Arkansas, located as follows:

- Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College (4-year; public), Pine Bluff, Jefferson County.
- Arkansas Baptist College (4-year; private), Little Rock, Pulaski County.
- Dunbar Junior College (2-year; public), Little Rock, Pulaski County.
- Morris Booker Memorial College (4-year; private), Dermott, Chicot County. (Not shown on map.)
- Philander Smith College (4-year; private), Little Rock, Pulaski County.
- Shorter College (4-year; private), North Little Rock, Pulaski County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- - Less than 1,000
- ▤ - 1,000 - 4,999
- ▥ - 5,000 - 9,999
- ▧ - 10,000 - 19,999
- ▨ - 20,000 - 29,999
- ▩ - 30,000 or more

2. □ - A trade area^{1/}

3. ★ - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- - 4-year public college offering graduate work
- - 4-year private college offering graduate work
- - 4-year public college
- - 4-year private college
- - 3-year public college
- - 2-year public college
- - 2-year private college

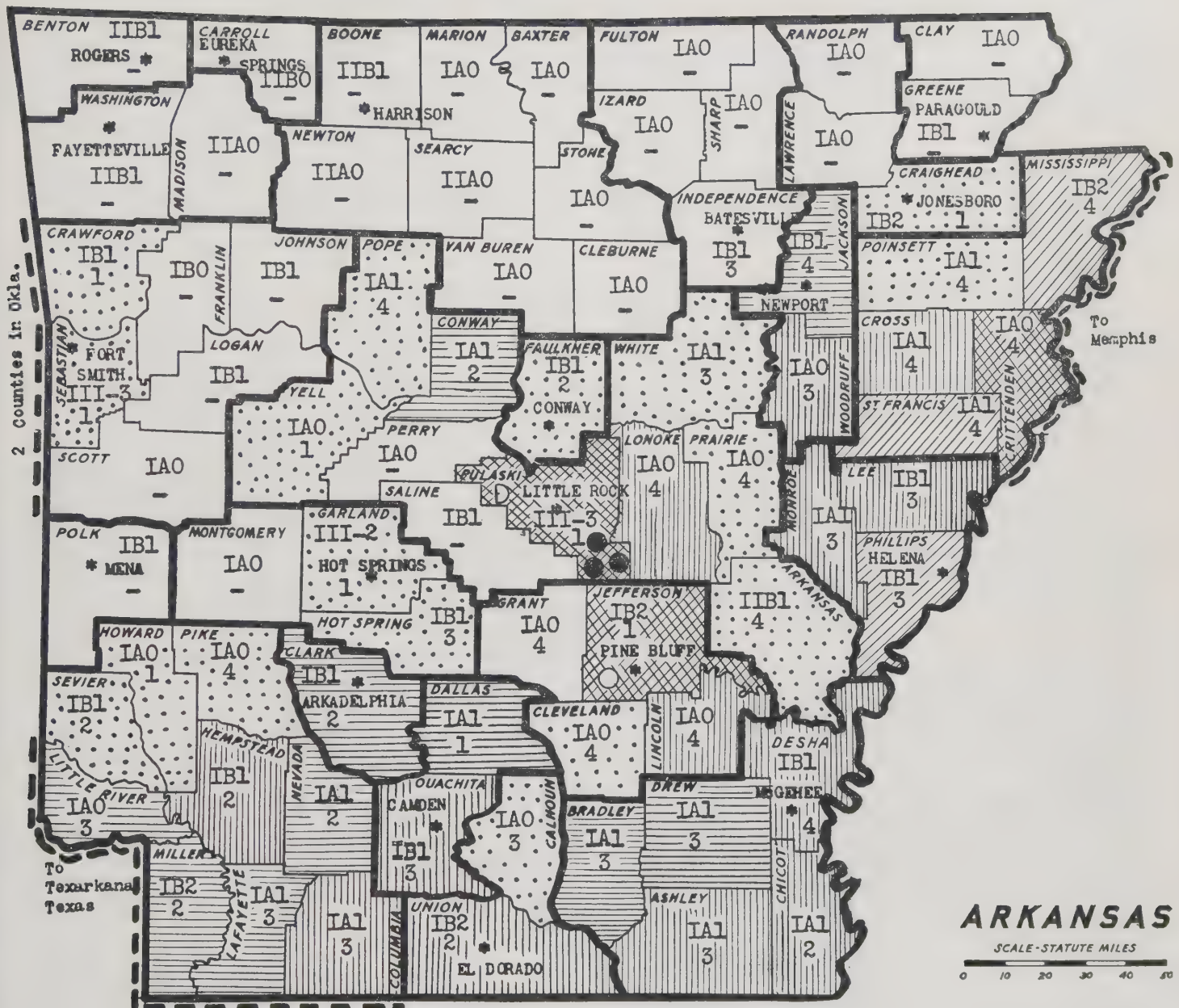
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - O - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931.



Delaware

Population

Total population 238,380; Negro population 32,602, or 13.7 percent of the total. Two of the Delaware counties had from 10 to 20 percent Negro population, the third county had from 20 to 30 percent Negroes. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Delaware increased 6.8 percent; the Negro population increased 7.5 percent. Of the Negroes born in Delaware, 33.8 percent were living in other States, while 34.4 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 35.9 percent were under 20 years of age; 36.9 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 51.7 percent of the total population was urban—52.5 percent of the white population and 46.1 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 10.3 in the percent Negroes were urban.

County Types

Delaware had one non-farm county and two counties which were farm other than cotton. Both farm counties were industrially diversified. One county had a metropolitan city, one was a farm town county (2,500 to 10,000 population) and the third county was rural.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization is indicated on the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. All three Delaware counties and one Maryland county use Wilmington as a trade center. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupation

Less than a fourth of the Negro gainful workers (23 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 32.3 percent were in domestic and personal service; 27.5 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 2.8 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators 46.2 percent were owners and 53.8 percent were tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

Two Delaware counties had a Plane of Living Index from 90 to 100 and the third county had an Index of 120 and over.

The per capita wealth of the total population for 1936, as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$2,554, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 17.

In home ownership, 54.8 percent of the white families and 26.3 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 1.4 percent of the white population, and 13.2 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

All three counties had an average Negro school term of 180 days or more, and in two counties this was as long or longer than the white school term. Information on the current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was not available for Delaware. Two counties had from 5 to 10 percent of the total school enrollment in high school; the third county had from 15 to 20 percent. The ratios to the proportion of white school enrollment were from 20 to 60. All three counties paid Negro high-school teachers \$900 or more, the ratios to white teachers' salaries being from 80 to 100 and over. One county had from 60 to 70 percent of its teachers with college training, the other two counties had 90 percent or more. The ratios to the training of white teachers were from 80 to 100 and over. There were 45.9 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39).

When 979 counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college, all three Delaware counties were in the first quartile.

Negro Colleges

Delaware has one college for Negroes, the State College for Colored Students (4-year public), Dover, Kent County.

District of Columbia

[For map see Maryland]

The District of Columbia has been counted as a county in the various tabulations. It had in 1930 a total population of 486,869; a Negro population of 132,068, or 27.1 percent of the total. There was a total population increase from 1920 to 1930 of 11.3 percent. The District is entirely urban. Slightly over half the Negroes of the District (51.7 percent) were engaged in domestic and personal service; 17.3 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 9.8 percent in transportation and communication; 5.8 percent in trade; 5.3 percent in public service; 5 percent in clerical service; 4.7 percent in professional service.

The Plane of Living Index for the total population of the District was 120 or over, the per capita wealth, 1936, \$4,122, the population per individual income tax return was 5. In home ownership, 41.8 percent of white families and 24.4 percent of Negro families owned their homes.

The length of the Negro school term was 185 days or more, and equal to the white school term. Information on current expenditure was not available. The percent of Negro school enrollment in high school was from 15 to 20, and the Negro-white ratio was 61. Information on salaries of Negro high-school teachers, and percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was not available. There were 148.3 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39).

Two colleges for Negroes are located in the District of Columbia: Howard University (4-year private, offering graduate and professional work) and Miner Teachers College (4-year public).

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

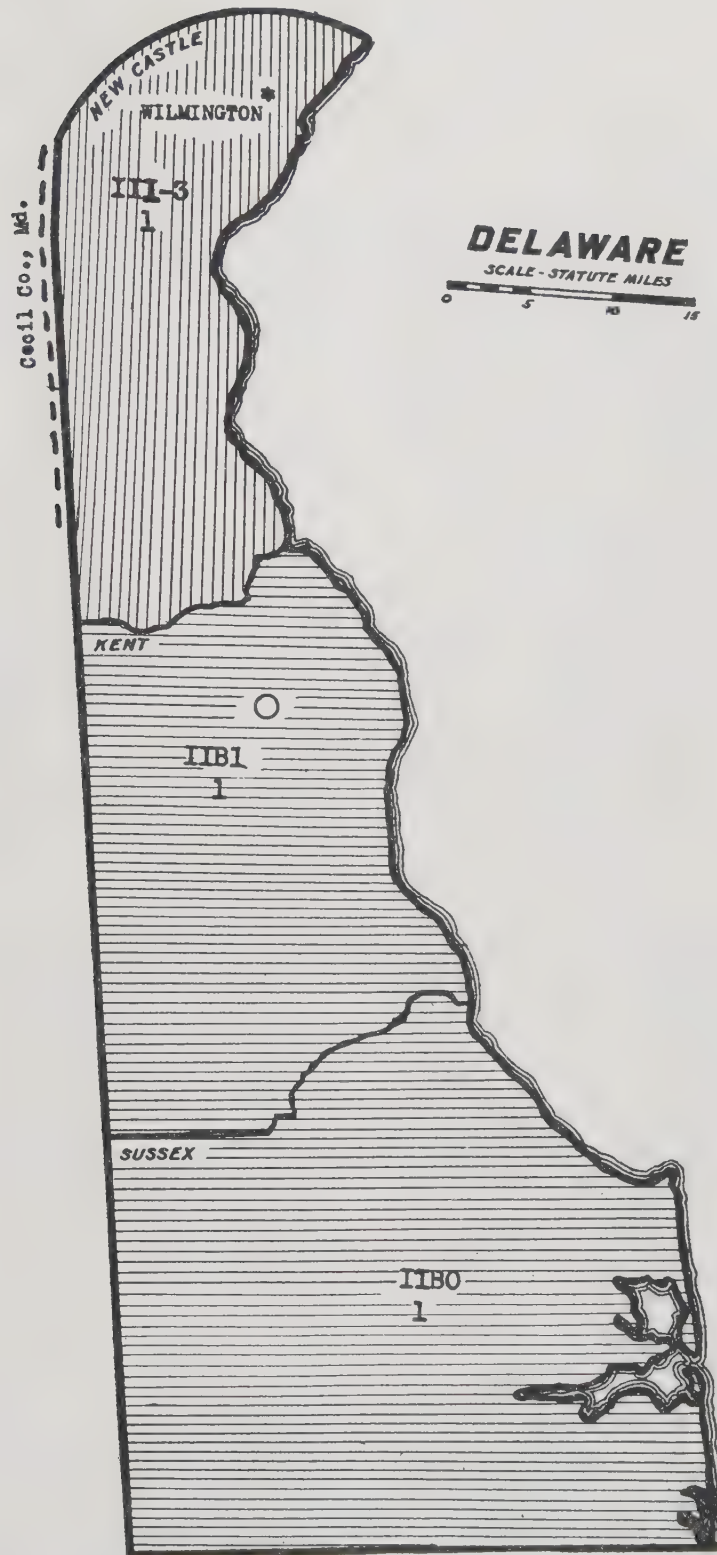
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Florida

Population

Total population 1,468,211; Negro population 431,828, or 29.4 percent of the total. Of the 67 counties in Florida, 66 had 5 percent or more of the population Negro, while 4 counties had 50 percent or more of the population Negro. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Florida increased 62.2 percent; the Negro population 31.1 percent. Of the Negroes born in Florida 17.5 percent were living in other States, while 38.1 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the States were born elsewhere. Of the total population 39.2 percent were under 20 years of age; 39.7 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 51.7 percent of the total population were urban—53 percent of the white population and 48.7 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 20 in the percent Negroes were urban. Twenty-nine counties (43.9 percent) had no urban Negroes, while 19 counties had 50 percent or more of their Negro population urban. Seven counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.]

County Types

Of the 67 counties in Florida, 24 were non-farm counties. Seven of the 24 were metropolitan. Of the 43 farm counties 32 were farm other than cotton, while 11 were cotton counties.

Twenty-nine of the farm counties were industrially diversified, while 14 had no industrial diversification.

Seven of the counties were metropolitan; 17 were other non-farm; there were 4 farm city counties (10,000 to 25,000 population); 15 farm town counties (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 24 rural counties.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city. Thus IAO is a cotton county with no industrial diversification and no town. A county marked IIB2 is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, with a city of 10,000 to 25,000. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupation

Slightly more than one-fourth (25.7 percent) of all Negro gainful workers were engaged in agriculture; 33 percent were in domestic and personal service; 22.1 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 2.7 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators 50.5 percent were owners and 49.5 percent were tenants. Of the 25 counties for which informa-

tion on tenancy was given 3 had from 80 to 90 percent of the farm operators in the status of tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 66 counties having 5 percent or more Negroes was 76. Fourteen of these counties had an Index of 100 or over and 5 of the 14 had an Index of 120 or over. Only 8 of the total counties had an Index of less than 50.

The per capita wealth of the total population in 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,250, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 33.

In home ownership, 46.6 percent of the white families, and 27.3 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 2 percent of the native white population and 18.8 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education ¹

The median length of the Negro school term was 160.4 days, and 51.5 percent of the counties had a school term for Negroes as long or longer than the school term for white children. The median current expenditure per Negro pupil was \$20.53, which was 40 percent of the white school expenditure (median ratio). The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 6, which was 30.9 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$637.50, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 52.2. The median percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was 75; and the median ratio to white teachers with such training was 97.5. There were 43.5 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 58 Florida counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 20 counties were in the highest quartile, 13 were in the second quartile, 11 in the third, and 14 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

There were 6 Negro colleges in Florida, located as follows:

- Bethune-Cookman College (2-year; private), Daytona Beach, Volusia County.
- Edward Waters College (2-year; private), Jacksonville, Duval County.
- Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College (4-year; public), Tallahassee, Leon County.
- Florida Memorial College (2-year; private), Live Oaks, Suwannee County.
- Florida Normal and Industrial College (2-year; private), St. Augustine, St. Johns County.
- Tampa Negro Junior College (2-year; private), Tampa, Hillsborough County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area ^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center ^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

5. County type: composite symbol

Basic economy:

- I - Farming: cotton
- II - Farming: other than cotton
- III - Non-farm economy

Industrialization:

- A - No industrial diversification
- B - Industrial diversification

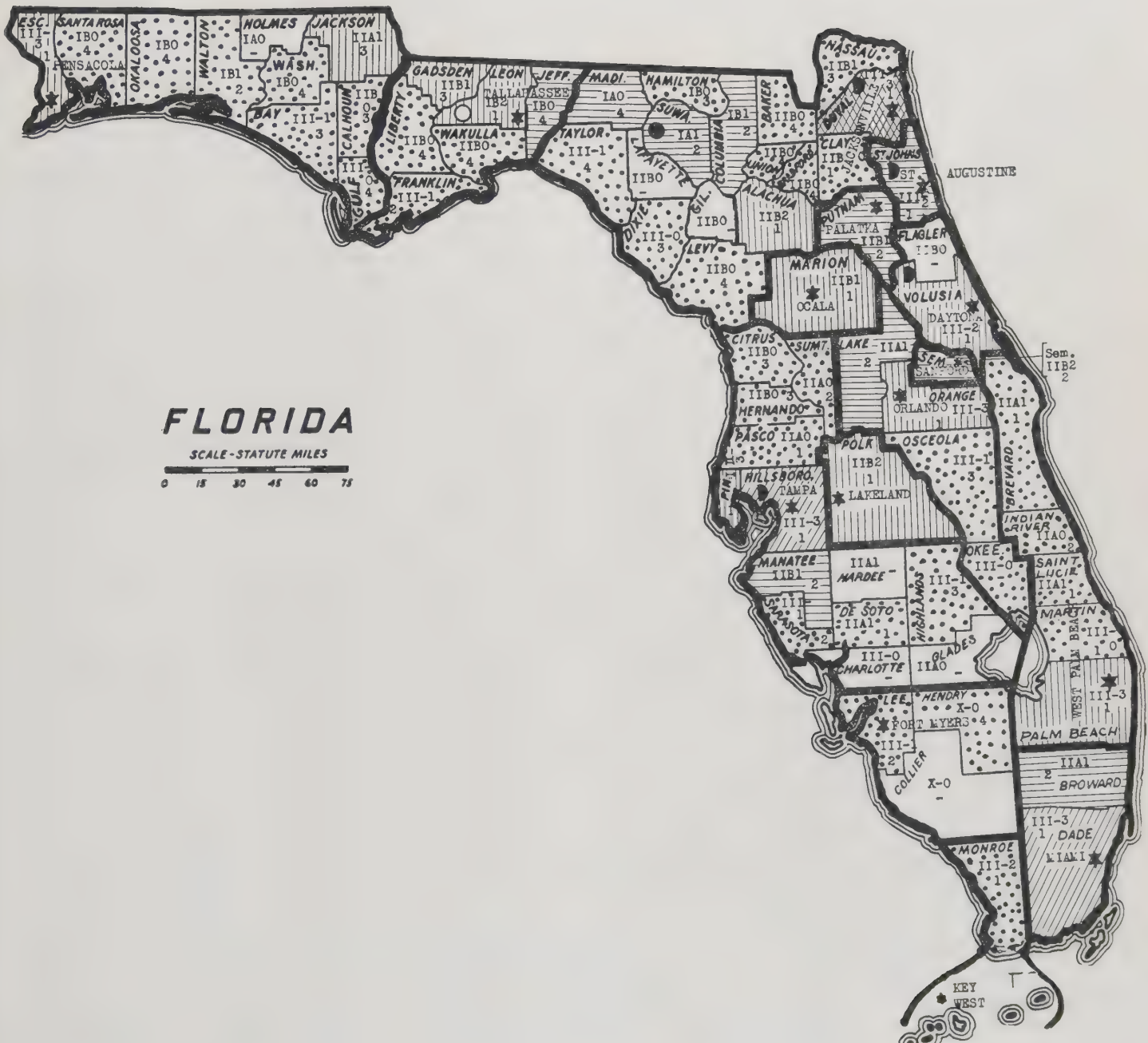
Urbanization:

- 0 - No urban area in county
- 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
- 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
- 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Georgia

Population

Total population 2,908,506; Negro population 1,071,125, or 36.8 percent of the total. Of the 161 counties in Georgia, 148 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro, while 48 counties had 50 percent or more of the population Negro. Of these 48 counties 2 had 75 percent or more Negroes.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Georgia increased 8.8 percent, while the Negro population decreased 11.2 percent. Of the Negroes born in Georgia 29 percent were living in other States, while 6.9 percent of the 1930 population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 46.3 percent were under 20 years of age; 48.1 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 30.8 percent of the total population were urban—31.5 percent of the white population, and 29.6 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 10.5 in the percent Negroes were urban. Eighty-nine of the counties with 5 percent or more Negroes (60.1 percent) had no urban Negroes, while 14 counties had 50 percent or more of their Negro population urban. Five counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the 161 counties in Georgia, 14 were non-farm, and of these 14, 5 were metropolitan. There were 23 farm counties other than cotton, 17 of which had 5 percent or more Negroes. Of the 124 cotton counties, 117 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro. Sixty-seven of the total farm counties were industrially diversified; 80 had no industrial diversification.

Five counties were metropolitan, 9 were other non-farm, 5 were farm city counties (10,000 to 25,000 population), 42 were farm town counties (2,500 to 10,000 population), and 100 counties were rural. Twelve of these rural counties had less than 5 percent Negroes in the population.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, and the third the size of the largest city. Thus IA1 is a cotton county with no industrial diversification and a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked IIBO is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, and rural. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which compose such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Several counties in Georgia use Chattanooga, Tenn., as a retail shopping center, while two counties in South Carolina use Augusta, Ga., as a shopping center, one Alabama county uses Rome, Ga., and another uses Columbus, Ga., as retail shopping centers. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Less than half (45.8 percent) of the Negro gainful workers were engaged in agriculture; 26 percent were in domestic and personal service; 15.6 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 2 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators, 12.8 percent were owners and 87.2 percent were tenants. Of the 133 counties for which information was available, nearly a third (33.1 percent) had 90 percent or more of the Negro farm operators in the status of tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 148 Georgia counties with 5 percent or more Negroes was 55.8. Only 1 of these counties had an Index above 100, and only 5 others had an Index of 80 or above. Ninety-five of the 148 counties had an Index below 60.

The per capita wealth of the total population for 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$968, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States 1939) was 59.

In home ownership, 38 percent of the white families, and 16.5 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 3.4 percent of the native white population and 19.9 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term was 147.9 days, and this was 86.9 percent as long as the term for white children (median ratio). Information on the current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was not available for Georgia. The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 4.1, which was 18.3 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$584, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 61.3. Information on the percent of white or Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was not available for Georgia. There were 20.5 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 146 Georgia counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 10 counties were in the highest quartile, 22 in the second quartile, 45 in the third, and 69 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

Atlanta University System, Atlanta, Fulton County:

Atlanta University (graduate school).

Atlanta University School of Social Work (Professional).

Morehouse College (4-year; private).

Spelman College (4-year; private).

Beda-Etta Academy (2-year; private), Macon, Bibb County.

Clark College (4-year; private), Atlanta, Fulton County.

Fort Valley State College (4-year; public), Fort Valley, Peach County.

Gammon Theological Seminary (Professional), Atlanta, Fulton County.

Georgia Baptist College (2-year; private), Macon, Bibb County. (Not shown on map.)

Georgia Normal College (4-year; public), Albany, Dougherty County.

Georgia State College (4-year; public), Industrial College, Chatham County.

Morris Brown College (4-year; private), Atlanta, Fulton County.

Paine College (4-year private), Augusta, Richmond County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

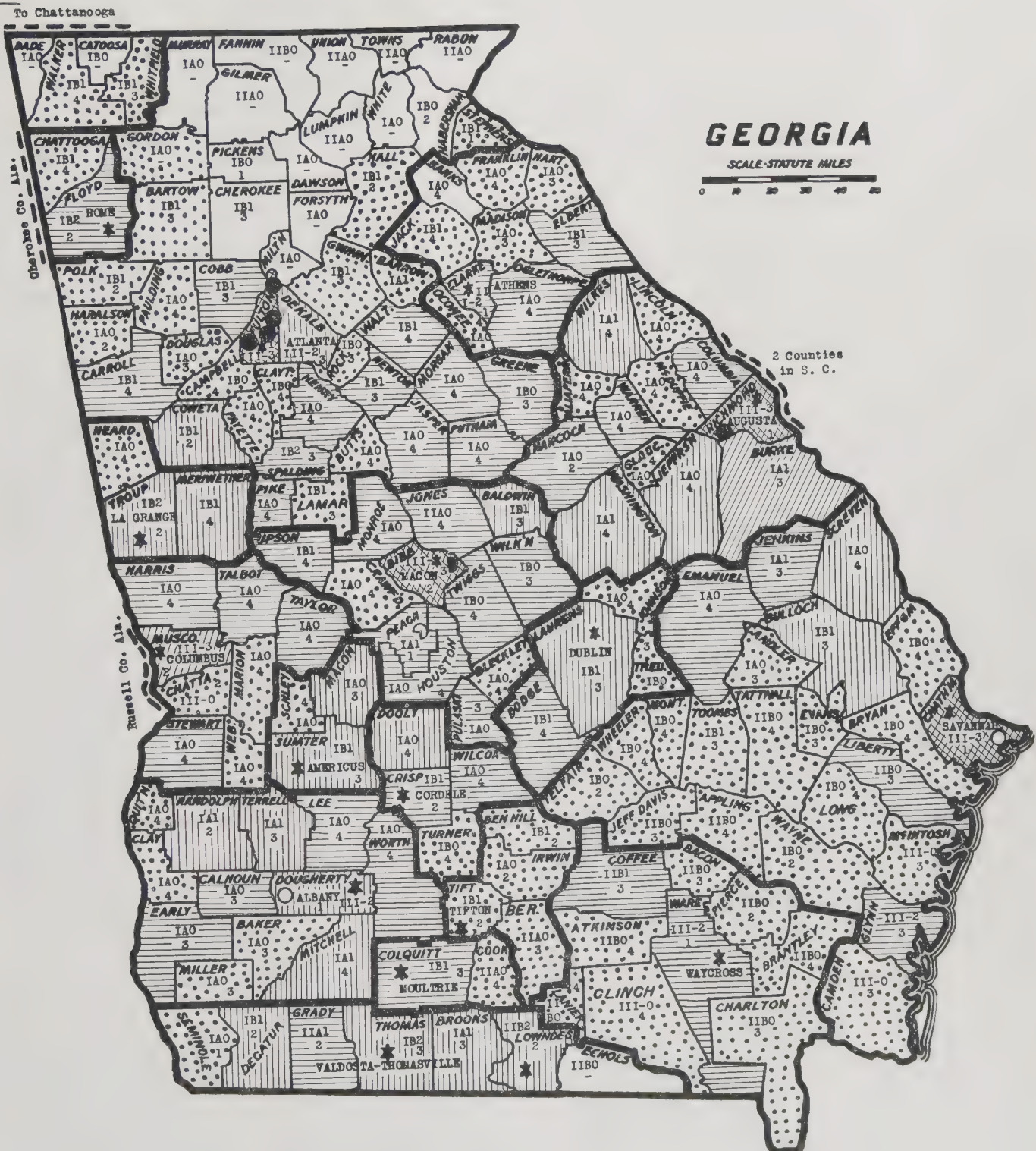
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Kentucky

Population

Total population 2,614,589; Negro population, 226,040, or 8.6 percent of the total. Of the 120 counties in Kentucky, 60 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro, but no county had as much as 40 percent of the population Negro. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Kentucky increased 9.5 percent, while the Negro population decreased 4.2 percent. Of the Negroes born in Kentucky 36.7 percent were living in other States, while 17.9 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 43.9 percent were under 20 years of age; 36.1 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 30.6 percent of the total population were urban—28.6 percent of the white population and 51.6 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 10.8 in the percent Negroes were urban. Twenty-six of the 60 counties (43.3 percent) with 5 percent or more Negroes, had no urban Negroes in the population, while 15 counties had 50 percent or more of their Negro population urban. Six counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more, but only three of these counties had 5 percent or more Negroes.

County Types

Of the total 120 counties in Kentucky, only 9 were non-farm counties, 6 of which were metropolitan. There were 110 farm counties with a basic economy other than cotton, and 54 of these counties had 5 percent or more Negroes. There was 1 cotton county.

Thirty-eight of the total farm counties were industrially diversified, while 73 had no such diversification.

There were 6 metropolitan counties; 3 other non-farm counties; 5 farm city counties (10,000 to 25,000 population); 29 farm town counties (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 77 rural counties. Twenty-six of the rural counties had 5 percent or more Negroes.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city. Thus IB1 is a cotton county, industrially diversified, with a city of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked IIA0 is farm other than cotton, with no industrial diversification, and rural. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. A group of northern Kentucky counties use Cincinnati as a trade center, while one southern county uses Nashville, Tenn., as a trade center. Several Indiana counties use Louisville, Ky., as a trade center, and three Illinois counties use Paducah. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Only 21.2 percent of the Negro gainful workers were engaged in agriculture; 36.1 percent were in domestic and personal service; 17.3 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 3.7 were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators 45.9 were owners and 54.1 percent were tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 60 counties having 5 percent or more Negroes was 75. Only 12 of the 60 counties had an Index below 60.

The per capita wealth of the total population for the 120 counties in 1936, as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,198, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 58.

In home ownership, 51.9 percent of the white families and 35.3 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 5.9 percent of the native white population and 15.4 percent of the Negro population was illiterate.

Education¹

For the 60 counties with 5 percent or more Negroes the median length of the Negro school term was 165.8 days, and this median term was as long or longer than the median term for white children. Information on current expenditure for Negro pupils in Kentucky was not available. For the 60 counties, the median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 15.6, which was 65.6 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (the median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$841.67, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 80. Information on the percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was not available for Kentucky. There were 49.4 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 54 Kentucky counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 29 Kentucky counties were in the highest quartile, 11 in the second quartile, 9 in the third, and only 5 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

There were 3 colleges for Negroes in Kentucky, located as follows:

Kentucky State College (4-year; public), Frankfort, Franklin County.

Louisville Municipal College for Negroes (4-year; public), Louisville, Jefferson County.

Simmons University (professional), Louisville, Jefferson County. (Not shown on map.)

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

5. County type: composite symbol

Basic economy:

- I - Farming: cotton
- II - Farming: other than cotton
- III - Non-farm economy

Industrialization:

- A - No industrial diversification
- B - Industrial diversification

Urbanization:

- 0 - No urban area in county
- 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
- 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
- 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

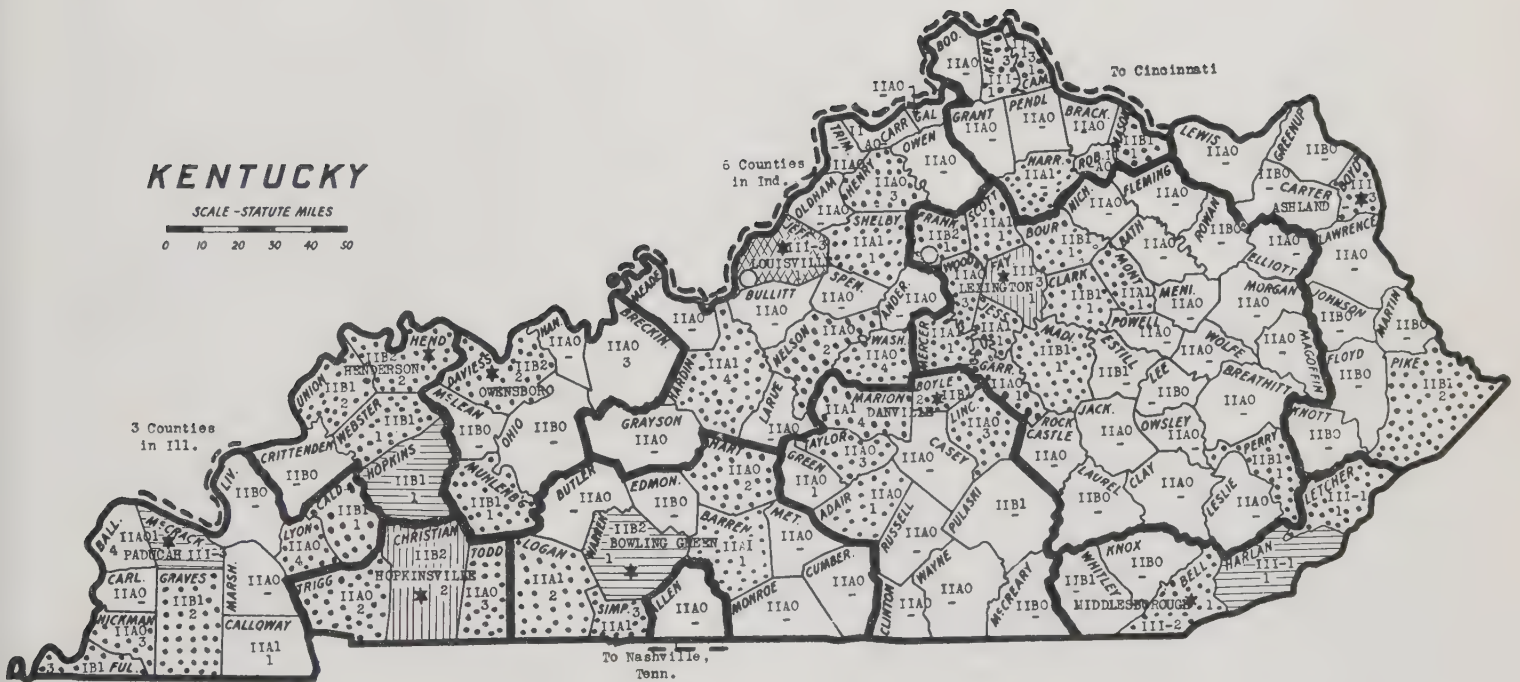
- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931

KENTUCKY

SCALE - STATUTE MILES

0 10 20 30 40 50



Louisiana

Population

Total population 2,101,593; Negro population 776,326, or 36.9 percent of the total. Of the 64 counties in Louisiana no county had less than 5 percent of its population Negro. Sixteen counties had 50 percent or more of the population Negro. Of these 16 counties, 1 had 75 percent or more Negroes.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Louisiana increased 20.5 percent; the Negro population 10.9 percent. Of the Negroes born in Louisiana 19.4 percent were living in other States, while 8.2 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 44 percent were under 20 years of age; 44.3 percent of the Negro population was under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 39.7 percent of the total population were urban—43.6 percent of the white population and 33.2 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 10.7 in the percent Negroes were urban. Twenty-eight counties (43.8 percent) had no urban Negroes, while 4 counties had 50 percent or more of their Negro population urban. Four counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the 64 counties in Louisiana only 8 were non-farm counties, 4 of which were metropolitan. There were 19 farm counties in the State with a basic economy other than cotton; and there were 37 cotton counties.

Twenty farm counties were industrially diversified; 36 had no such diversification.

Four counties were metropolitan; 4 were other non-farm; 3 were farm city (10,000–25,000 population); 27 were farm town (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 26 were rural.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city. Thus IA1 is a cotton county with no industrial diversification and a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked IIBO is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, and rural. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Several counties in northeastern Louisiana use either Vicksburg or Natchez as shopping centers, while five Mississippi counties use New Orleans as a trade center. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Forty-six percent of the Negro gainful workers were engaged in agriculture; 22.7 percent were in domestic and personal service; 15.7 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 1.8 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators 14.2 percent were owners and 85.8 percent were tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 64 Louisiana counties was 59.3. Eight counties had an Index of 100 or over, while 19 counties had an Index below 50.

The per capita wealth of the total population for 1936, as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,253, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 48.

In home ownership, 43 percent of the white population and 20.7 percent of the Negro population owned their homes.

In 1930, 7.8 percent of the native white and 23.3 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term was 145.2 days, and this was 81.5 percent as long as the term for white children (median ratio). The median annual current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was \$11.50, which was 22.6 percent of the white school expenditure (median ratio). The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 5, which was 18.8 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$600, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 47. The median percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was 61.2, and the median Negro-white ratio of teachers with such training was 63.3. There were 28 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938–39, all counties).

When 63 Louisiana counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 8 counties were in the highest quartile, 15 in the second quartile, 23 in the third, and 17 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15–19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

There were 6 colleges for Negroes in Louisiana, located as follows:

- Coleman College (4-year; private), Gibbssland, Bienville Parish.
- Dillard University (4-year; private), New Orleans, Orleans Parish.
- Leland College (4-year; private), Baker, East Baton Rouge Parish.
- Louisiana Negro Normal School (3-year; public), Grambling, Lincoln Parish.
- Southern University (4-year; public), Scotlandville, East Baton Rouge Parish.
- Xavier University (4-year; private), New Orleans, Orleans Parish.

¹ 1937–38 unless otherwise indicated.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

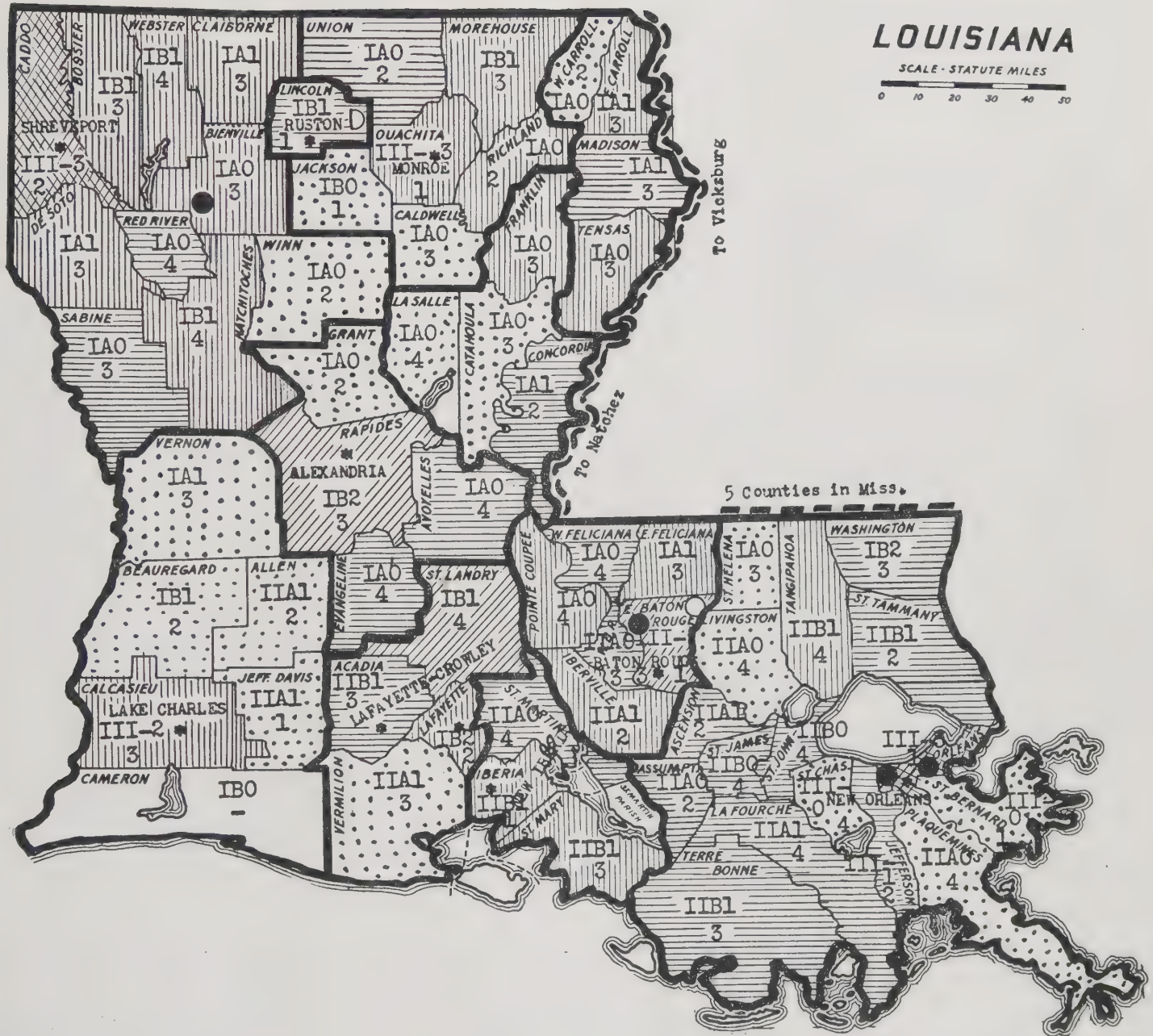
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15–19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15–19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931.



Maryland

Population

Total population 1,631,526; Negro population 276,379, or 16.9 percent of the total. Of the 23 counties in Maryland, 19 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro. Two counties had 40 percent or more Negroes, but no county had as many as 50 percent Negroes. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Maryland increased 12.4 percent; the Negro population 13 percent. Of the Negroes born in Maryland 26.8 percent were living in other States, while 26.5 percent of the 1930 population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 37.2 percent were under 20 years of age; 39 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 59.8 percent of the total population were urban—60.1 percent of the white population and 57.8 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 15.1 in the percent Negroes were urban. Six counties had no urban Negroes, and no county except Baltimore had as much as 40 percent of its Negro population urban. The Negroes of Baltimore County were 90 percent or more urban. Maryland had three metropolitan cities but of the three only Baltimore had more than 5 percent of the population Negro.

County Types

Of the 23 counties in Maryland, 5 were non-farm counties, of which 3 were metropolitan. All of the 18 farm counties in the State were farm other than cotton. Sixteen of the 18 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro.

Twelve of the farm counties were industrially diversified, and 6 had no such diversification.

Three counties were metropolitan, 2 were other non-farm, 2 were farm city (10,000 to 25,000 population), 9 were farm town (2,500 to 10,000 population), and 7 were rural.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, and the third the size of the largest city. Thus IIAO is farm other than cotton, with no industrial diversification, and rural. A county marked IIB2 is farm other than cotton, with industrial diversification and a city of 10,000 to 25,000 population. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. One Maryland county uses Wilmington, Del., as a retail shopping center, while Washington, D. C., serves as a shopping center for 5 Maryland and 6 Virginia counties. Seven counties in West Virginia use northwestern Maryland trade centers. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Only 16 percent of the Negro gainful workers were employed in agriculture; 36.9 percent were in domestic and personal service; 26 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 2.9 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators 55.8 percent were owners and 44.2 percent were tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index of the 19 Maryland counties with 5 percent or more Negroes was 104.2. Only 1 of these counties fell below an Index of 80, while 5 of the counties had an Index of 120 or over.

The per capita wealth of the total population of the State in 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$2,440, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 15.

In home ownership 59.4 percent of the white families, and 26.3 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 1.4 percent of the native white population and 11.4 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term was 166.8 days, and this term was 91.5 percent as long as the school term for white children. The median current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was \$35, which was 53.1 percent of the white school expenditure (median ratio). The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 16.1, which was 63.7 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school, (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$855.56, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 56.7. The median percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was 97.2, and the median Negro white ratio of teachers with such training was over 100.² There were 39.8 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 22 Maryland counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 6 counties were in the highest quartile, 12 in the second quartile, 3 in the third, and 1 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

There were 4 colleges for Negroes in Maryland, located as follows:

Coppin Teachers College (4-year; public), Baltimore City.
Maryland State Teachers College (4-year; public), Bowie,
Prince Georges County.

Morgan State College (4-year; public), Baltimore City.
Princess Anne College (4-year; public), Princess Anne,
Somerset County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

² 1936-37.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Mississippi

Population

Total population 2,009,821; Negro population, 1,009,718, or 50.2 percent of the total. All of the 82 counties in Mississippi had 5 percent or more of their population Negro. Only 2 counties had less than 10 percent Negro, while 35 had 50 percent or more Negroes. Of these 35 counties, 14 had 70 to 80 percent Negroes, and 2 had from 80 to 90 percent Negroes. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Mississippi increased 16.8 percent; the Negro population 8 percent. Of the Negroes born in Mississippi 23.5 percent were living in other States, while 6.9 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 46.6 percent were under 20 years of age; 47.2 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, only 16.9 percent of the total population were urban—20.5 percent of the white population, and 13.3 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 3.9 in the percent Negroes were urban. Forty-six counties (56.1 percent) had no urban Negroes, and only 5 counties had 50 percent or more of their Negro population urban. Two counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the 82 counties in Mississippi only 6 were non-farm counties, of which 2 were metropolitan. There were only 3 farm other than cotton counties and 73 cotton counties.

Seventeen of the farm counties were industrially diversified; 59 had no such diversification.

Two counties were metropolitan, 4 were other non-farm, 8 were farm city (10,000 to 25,000 population); 22 were farm town (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 46 were rural.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city. Thus IB1 is a cotton county with industrial diversification, and a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked IIAO is farm other than cotton, not industrially diversified, and rural. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Several counties in northern Mississippi use Memphis, Tenn., as a trade center while several southern Mississippi counties use New Orleans, La., as a trade center. Several counties in Louisiana use Vicksburg and Natchez, Miss., as trade centers. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Nearly three-fourths of all Negro gainful workers (74.3 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 11.5 percent were in domestic and personal service; 7.4 percent in manufacturing and mechanical industries; and 1.3 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators only 12.4 percent were owners and 87.6 percent were tenants. Eighteen counties (23.4 percent) had 90 or more of their Negro farm operators in the status of tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 82 Mississippi counties was 49. Only 2 counties had an Index of 80 or more, and 45 counties (54.9 percent) had an Index of less than 50.

The per capita wealth of the total population for 1936, as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$736, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 123.

In home ownership, 48.5 percent of the white families, and 17.1 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 2.7 percent of the native white population and 23.2 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

Information regarding the length of the Negro school term the current expenditure per pupil enrolled, the percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school, the annual salary of Negro high-school teachers, and the percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training was not available for Mississippi. There were 8.7 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39).

Negro Colleges

There are 10 Negro colleges in Mississippi, located as follows:

- Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College (4-year; public), Alcorn, Claiborne County.
- Campbell College (4-year; private), Jackson, Hinds County.
- Mississippi Negro Training School (4-year; public), Jackson, Hinds County.
- Mississippi Industrial College (4-year; private), Holly Springs, Marshall County.
- Natchez College (4-year; private), Natchez, Adams County.
- Okolona Industrial School (2-year; private), Okolona, Chickasaw County.
- Piney Woods Country Life School (2-year; private), Piney Woods, Rankin County. (Shown on map as in Hancock County.)
- Rust College (4-year; private), Holly Springs, Marshall County.
- Southern Christian Institute (2-year; private), Edwards, Hinds County.
- Tougaloo College (4-year; private), Tougaloo, Hinds County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

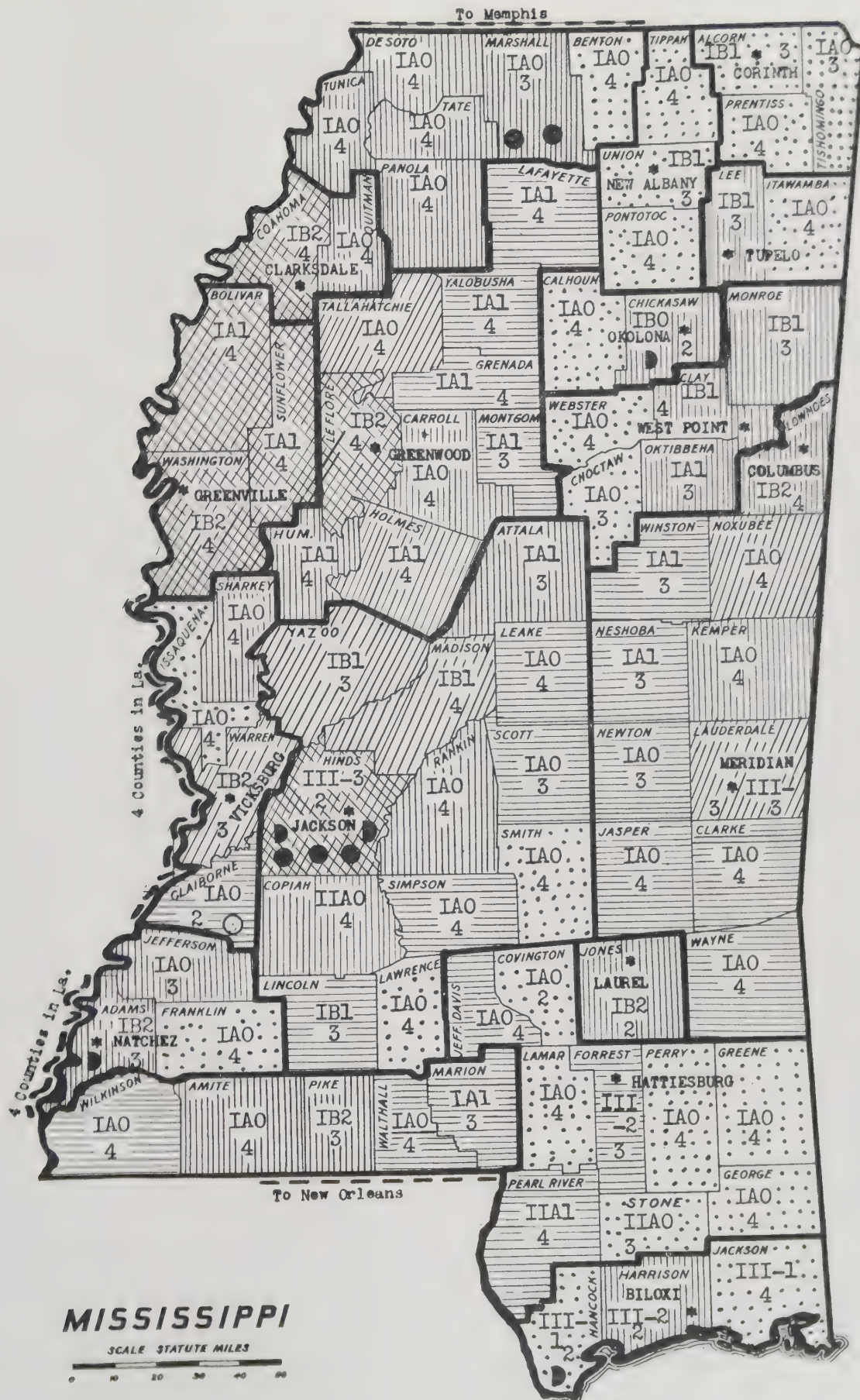
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Missouri

Population

Total population 3,629,367; Negro population 223,840, or 6.2 percent of the total. Of the 103 Missouri counties, 20 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro, but only 2 counties had 25 percent or more of the population Negro. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Missouri increased 5.5 percent, while the Negro population increased 25.6 percent. Of the Negroes born in Missouri 32.9 percent were living in other States, while 52 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 35.7 percent were under 20 years of age; 31 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 51.2 percent of the total population were urban—49.5 percent of the white population and 75.9 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 9.6 in the percent Negroes were urban. Thirty counties had 50 percent or more of the Negroes urban.

County Types

The Missouri counties were not typed so that information on this point was not available. It will be noted from the map that the Negro population was concentrated in the southeastern portion of the State and in a central section extending from Kansas City to St. Louis. That most of the Negroes are in non-farm metropolitan counties is indicated by the high percentage which the Negroes of the State are urban (75.9 percent) and the low percentage engaged in agriculture (11.7 percent).

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. No Missouri counties use retail shopping centers in other States, but several counties in Kansas and Illinois use Missouri cities as retail shopping centers. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Only 11.7 percent of the Negro gainful workers were engaged in agriculture; 42.6 percent were in domestic and personal service; 23.4 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 10.2 percent in transportation and communication; 3.4 percent in professional service.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The Plane of Living Index was not available for Missouri counties. The per capita wealth of the total State population for 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,834, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 28.

In home ownership, 50.8 percent of the white families, and 22.7 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 1.6 percent of the native white population, and 8.8 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education

As the Missouri counties were not typed, the educational data for elementary and secondary schools were not secured.

There were 51.1 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 24 Missouri counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 13 Missouri counties were in the highest quartile, 3 were in the second quartile, 6 in the third, and 2 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4.

Negro Colleges

There were 5 colleges for Negroes in Missouri located as follows:

Lincoln Junior College (2-year; public), Kansas City, Jackson County.

Lincoln University (4-year; public), Jefferson City, Cole County.

Lincoln University Law School (professional), St. Louis City.

Stowe Teachers and Junior College (4-year; public), St. Louis City.

Western Seminary (2-year; private), Kansas City, Jackson County.

[Missouri counties were not typed and therefore the tripartite symbols do not appear on the counties in the map]

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area

3. - Location of a trade center

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

5. County type: composite symbol

Basic economy:

- I - Farming: cotton
- II - Farming: other than cotton
- III - Non-farm economy

Industrialization:

- A - No industrial diversification
- B - Industrial diversification

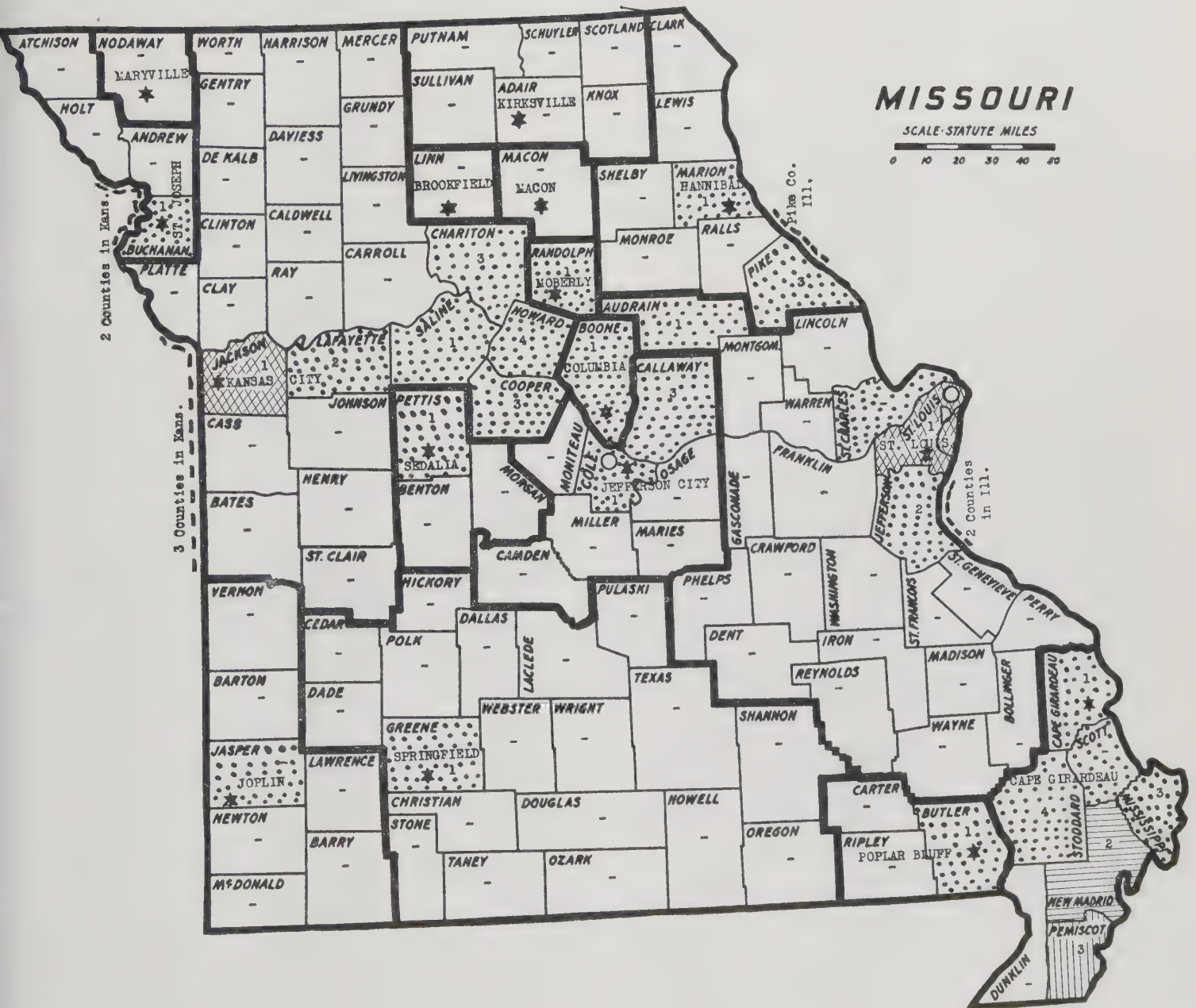
Urbanization:

- 0 - No urban area in county
- 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
- 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
- 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



North Carolina

Population

Total population 3,170,276; Negro population 918,647, or 29 percent of the total. Of the 100 counties in North Carolina, 86 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro, while 9 had 50 percent or more of the population Negro. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of North Carolina increased 25.3 percent; the Negro population 20.3 percent. Of the Negroes born in North Carolina 21.4 percent were living in other States, while 11.9 percent of the 1930 population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 49.3 percent were under 20 years of age; 52 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 25.5 percent of the total population were urban—25.2 percent of the white population and 26.8 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 10.2 in the percent Negroes were urban. Thirty-three counties (38.4 percent of the 86 having 5 percent or more Negroes) had no urban Negroes, while 11 of the 86 counties had 50 percent or more of their Negro population urban. Seven counties had metropolitan cities, and all 7 counties had 5 percent or more Negroes.

County Types

Of the 100 counties in North Carolina, 10 were non-farm counties, and 7 of these were metropolitan. There were 61 farm other than cotton counties of which 47 had 5 percent or more Negroes. All of the 29 cotton counties had 5 percent or more Negroes.

Fifty of the total farm counties were industrially diversified; 40 had no such diversification.

Seven of the total counties were metropolitan; 3 were other non-farm; 13 were farm city (10,000 to 25,000 population); 32 were farm town (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 45 were rural. Of the 45 rural counties 32 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Nearly half of all the Negro gainful workers (48.8 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 21.7 percent in domestic and personal service; 18.1 percent in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 2.7 percent in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators, 25.4 percent were owners and 74.6 percent were tenants. Six counties had 90 percent or more of the Negro farm operators in the status of tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 86 North Carolina counties with 5 percent or more Negroes was 75.8. Eight of these

counties had an Index of 100 or over, while no county had an Index below 50.

The per capita wealth of the total population (all counties) for 1936, as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,265, and the population per individual income tax return (all counties) for 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 75.

In home ownership (all counties) 49.5 percent of the white families, and 28.3 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 5.7 percent of the native white population, and 20.6 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term for 86 counties was 162.5 days, and this was as long or longer than the median length of term for white children. The median current annual expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was \$17.34, which was 53.5 percent of the white school expenditure (median ratio). The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 11.9, which was 51 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$722.22, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 76.4. Information regarding the percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was not available for North Carolina. There were 36.6 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 84 North Carolina counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked) 30 North Carolina counties were in the highest quartile, 36 in the second quartile, 13 in the third, and 5 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

Barber-Scotia Junior College (2-year; private), Concord, Cabarrus County.
Bennett College (4-year; private), Greensboro, Guilford County.
Elizabeth City State Teachers College (4-year; public), Elizabeth City, Pasquotank County.
Fayetteville State Teachers College (4-year; public), Fayetteville, Cumberland County.
Immanuel Lutheran College (2-year; private), Greensboro, Guilford County.
Johnson C. Smith University (4-year; private), Charlotte, Mecklenburg County.
Kittrell College (4-year; private), Kittrell, Vance County.
Livingstone College (4-year; private), Salisbury, Rowan County.
Negro Agricultural and Technical College (4-year; public), Greensboro, Guilford County.
North Carolina College for Negroes (4-year; public), Durham, Durham County.
St. Augustine's College (4-year; private), Raleigh, Wake County.
Shaw University (4-year; private), Raleigh, Wake County.
Winston-Salem Teachers College (4-year; public), Winston-Salem, Forsyth County.

¹ 1936-37 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

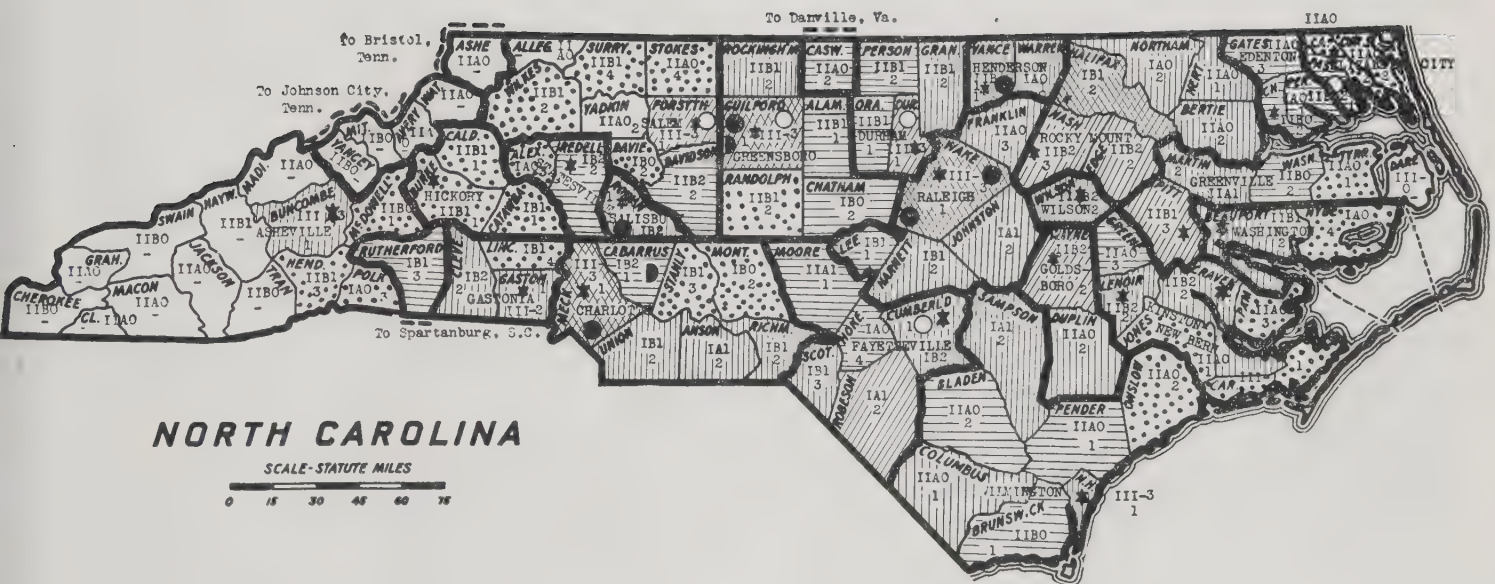
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Oklahoma

Population

Total population 2,396,040; Negro population 172,198, or 7.2 percent of the total. Of the 77 counties in Oklahoma, 25 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro, but no county had as much as 40 percent of the population Negro. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Oklahoma increased 17.1 percent; the Negro population 15.3 percent. Of the Negroes born in Oklahoma 25.6 percent were living in other States, while 49.9 percent of the Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 44.2 percent were under 20 years of age; 43.1 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 34.3 percent of the total population were urban—34.7 percent of the white population and 39.4 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 12.5 in the percent Negroes were urban. Five of the 25 counties had no urban Negroes, while 3 counties had 50 percent or more of their Negro population urban. Three of the 25 counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the 25 counties in Oklahoma which were typed (those having 5 percent or more Negroes), 4 were non-farm and 3 of these were metropolitan. There were 3 farm other than cotton counties, and 18 cotton counties.

Twelve of the farm counties were industrially diversified; 9 had no such diversification.

Three counties were metropolitan; 1 was other non-farm; 4 were farm city (10,000 to 25,000 population); 12 were farm town (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 5 were rural.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city. Thus IA1 is a cotton county with no industrial diversification, and a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked IIBO is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, and rural. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. One county in northern Oklahoma uses Coffeyville, Kans., as a trade center, while two counties on the eastern border use Fort Smith, Ark., as a trade center. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

More than a third of all Negro gainful workers in the 25 counties (39.3 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 32.4 percent were in domestic and personal service; 13.2 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 4.4 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators (all counties) 22.8 percent were owners, and 77.2 percent were tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 25 counties was 65. Two of the counties had an Index of 110 or over, while 6 counties had an Index of less than 50.

The per capita wealth of the total population (all counties) for 1936, as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,349, and the population per individual income tax return (all counties) for 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 47.

In home ownership, 40.3 percent of the white families, and 31.4 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 1.8 percent of the native white population, and 9.3 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term for the 25 counties was 171.6 days, and this was as long or longer than the median length of term for white children. The median current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was \$40.38, which was 98.3 percent of the current expenditure for white pupils (median ratio). The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 15.3, which was 63.7 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). Information regarding the average salaries of Negro high-school teachers was not available for Oklahoma. The median percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was 96.8, and the median Negro-white ratio of teachers with such training was 100 or over. There were 59.5 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 35 Oklahoma counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 20 counties were in the highest quartile, 7 were in the second quartile, 3 in the third, and 5 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

Oklahoma has one college for Negroes, Langston University (4-year; public), Langston, Logan County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to the counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

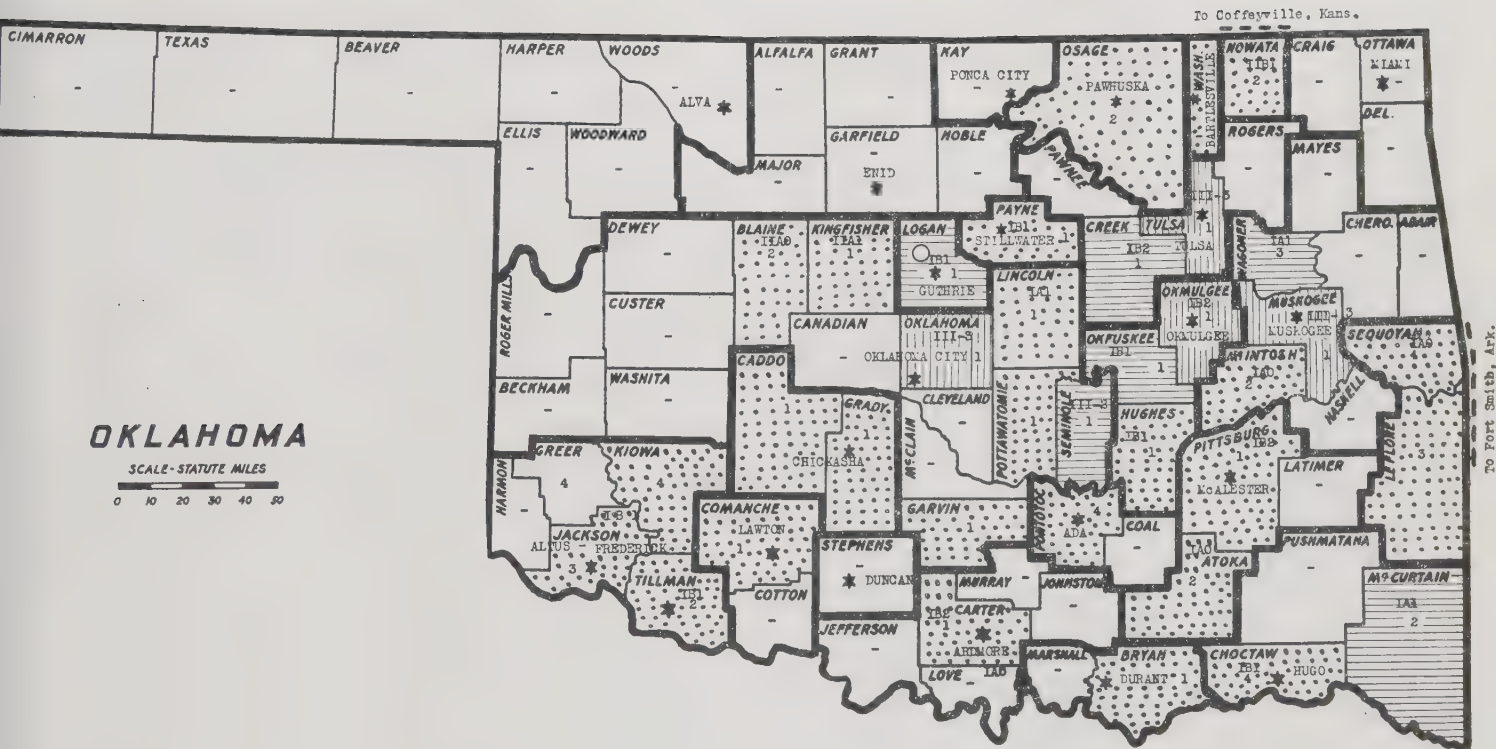
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



South Carolina

Population

Total population 1,738,765; Negro population 793,681, or 45.6 percent of the total. All of the 46 counties in South Carolina had 5 percent or more Negro population. Twenty-five of the 46 counties had 50 percent or more of the population Negro, and 4 of these 25 had from 70 to 80 percent of the population Negro. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the native white population of South Carolina increased 15.3 percent; the Negro population decreased 8.2 percent. Of the Negroes born in South Carolina 29.1 percent were living in other States, while only 2.2 percent of the 1930 population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population, 50.6 percent were under 20 years of age; 54.2 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 21.3 percent of the total population were urban—24.6 percent of the white population, and 17.4 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 5.2 in the percent Negroes were urban. Fourteen counties (30.4 percent) had no urban Negroes, while only 2 counties had 50 percent or more of the Negroes urban. Four counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the 46 counties in South Carolina, 4 were non-farm counties, and all of these were metropolitan. There were 5 farm other than cotton counties, and 37 cotton counties.

Twenty of the farm counties were industrially diversified; 22 had no industrial diversification.

Four counties were metropolitan; there were no other non-farm counties; there were 5 farm city counties (10,000 to 25,000 population); 22 farm town counties (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 15 rural counties.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city. Thus IA1 is a cotton county with no industrial diversification, and a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked IIBO is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, and rural. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Rutherford County, N. C., uses Spartanburg, S. C., as a trade center, and two South Carolina counties use Augusta, Ga., as such a center. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Considerably more than half of all Negro gainful workers (61.8 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 17.6 percent were in domestic and personal service; 11.5 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 1.9 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators 20.7 percent were owners and 79.3 percent were tenants. Seven counties had more than 90 percent of the Negro farm operators in the status of tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 46 South Carolina counties was 53.5. No county had an Index as high as 80, while 17 counties (37 percent) had an Index below 50.

The per capita wealth of the total population for 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,165, and the population per individual income-tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 87.

In home ownership, 38.3 percent of the white families and 21.2 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 5.2 percent of the white population and 26.9 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term (1937-38) was 137.2 days, and this was 78.5 as long as the term for white children (median ratio). The median annual current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was \$9.02, which was 22.5 percent of the white school expenditure (median ratio). The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 6.3, which was 25 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$519.44, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 49.3. Information regarding the percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was not available for South Carolina. There were 23.9 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39).

When 46 South Carolina counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 4 counties were in the highest quartile, 22 in the second quartile, 15 in the third, and 5 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

South Carolina has 14 Negro colleges located as follows:

- Allen University (4-year; private), Columbia, Richland County.
- Avery Institute (2-year; private), Charleston, Charleston County.
- Benedict College (4-year; private), Columbia, Richland County.
- Bettis Academy (2-year; private), Trenton, Edgefield County.
- Brainerd Junior College (2-year; private), Chester, Chester County.
- Clafflin College (4-year; private), Orangeburg, Orangeburg County.
- Clinton Normal and Industrial College (2-year; private), Rock Hill, York County.
- Coulter Memorial Academy (2-year; private), Cheraw, Chesterfield County.
- Friendship College (2-year; private), Rock Hill, York County.
- Mather School (2-year; private), Beaufort, Beaufort County.
- Morris College (4-year; private), Sumter, Sumter County.
- Seneca Junior College (2-year; private), Seneca, Oconee County.
- State Agricultural and Mechanical College (4-year; public), Orangeburg, Orangeburg County.
- Voorhees Normal and Industrial School (2-year; private), Denmark, Bamberg County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

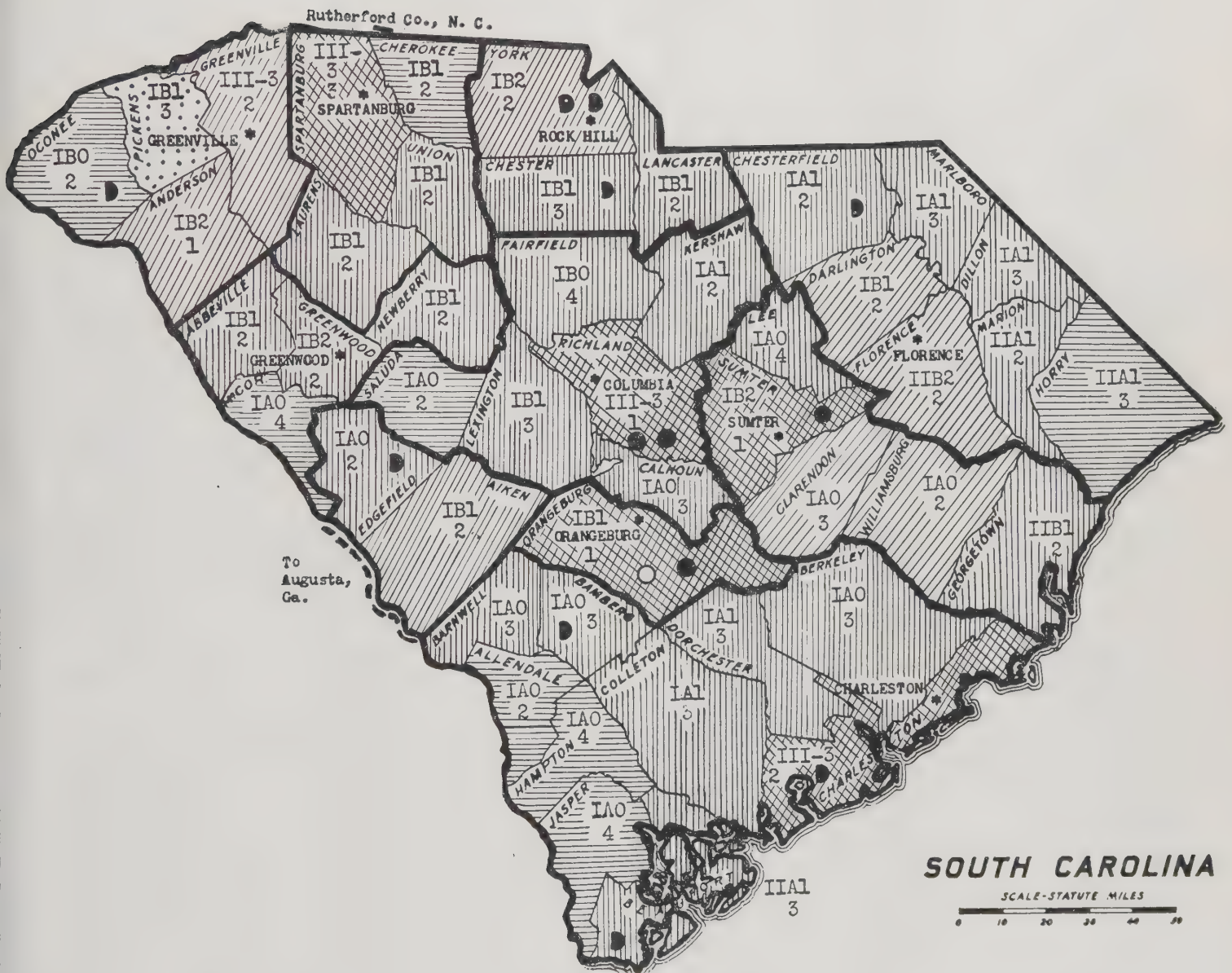
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - O - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Tennessee

Population

Total population 2,616,556; Negro population 477,646, or 18.3 percent of the total. Of the 95 Tennessee counties, 57 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro, but only 2 counties had 50 percent or more Negroes. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Tennessee increased 13.4 percent; the Negro population 5.7 percent. Of the Negroes born in Tennessee 32.6 percent were living in other States, while 23.5 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 43.8 percent were under 20 years of age; 40.8 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 34.3 percent of the total State population were urban—30.7 percent of the white population and 50.3 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 18.5 in the percent Negroes were urban. Twenty-five (43.9 percent) of the 57 counties had no urban Negroes, but 12 counties had 50 percent or more of the Negroes urban. Four of these 12 counties had 80 percent or more Negroes urban. Five counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the 95 counties in Tennessee, only 5 were non-farm counties, and all of these were metropolitan. Sixty-nine counties were farm other than cotton, and 35 of these counties had 5 percent or more Negroes. There were 21 cotton counties, 17 of which had 5 percent or more Negroes.

Thirty-two of the total farm counties were industrially diversified; 58 had no industrial diversification.

Five counties were metropolitan; there were no other non-farm counties. There were 2 farm city counties (10,000 to 25,000 population) 1 of which had 5 percent or more Negroes. There were 34 farm town counties (2,500 to 10,000 population), 26 of which had 5 percent or more Negroes. There were 54 rural counties 25 of which had at least 5 percent Negro population.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, and the third the size of the largest city. Thus IAI is a cotton county with no industrial diversification, and a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked IIBO is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, and rural. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Tennessee cities serve as trade centers for counties in Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi, while two Tennessee counties use Florence, Ala., as a trade center. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Less than one-third of the Negro gainful workers (31.3 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 32.9 percent were engaged in domestic and personal service; 18.5 percent in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 2.7 percent in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators 22.3 percent were owners and 77.7 percent were tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 57 counties with 5 percent or more Negroes was 67.3. Only 1 of these counties had an Index of 100 or more, but only 4 counties had an Index below 50.

The per capita wealth for the total State population for 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,298, and the population per individual income tax return for 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 54.

In home ownership, 49.3 percent of the white families, and 28 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 5.4 percent of the native white population and 14.9 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term for the 57 counties (1937-38) was 163.5, and this was as long or longer than the school term for white children (median ratio). Information on the current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was not available for Tennessee. The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 10.7, which was 62.1 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$705.55, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 70. The median percent Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was 63.7; and the median Negro-white ratio of teachers with such training was 83.7. There were 38.4 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 54 Tennessee counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 20 counties were in the highest quartile, 20 in the second quartile, 7 in the third, and 7 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 were not-ranked.

Negro Colleges

Tennessee had 10 colleges for Negroes distributed as follows:

American Baptist Theological Seminary (professional), Nashville, Davidson County. (Not shown on map.)

Fisk University (4-year; private, offering graduate work), Nashville, Davidson County.

Knoxville College (4-year; private), Knoxville, Knox County.

Lane College (4-year; private), Jackson, Madison County.

Le Moyne College (4-year; private), Memphis, Shelby County.

Meharry Medical College (professional), Nashville, Davidson County. (Not shown on map.)

Morristown Normal and Industrial College (2-year; private), Morristown, Hamblen County.

Roger Howe Institute (2-year; private), Memphis, Shelby County.

Swift Memorial Junior College (2-year; private), Rogersville, Hawkins County.

Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Teachers College (4-year; public), Nashville, Davidson County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

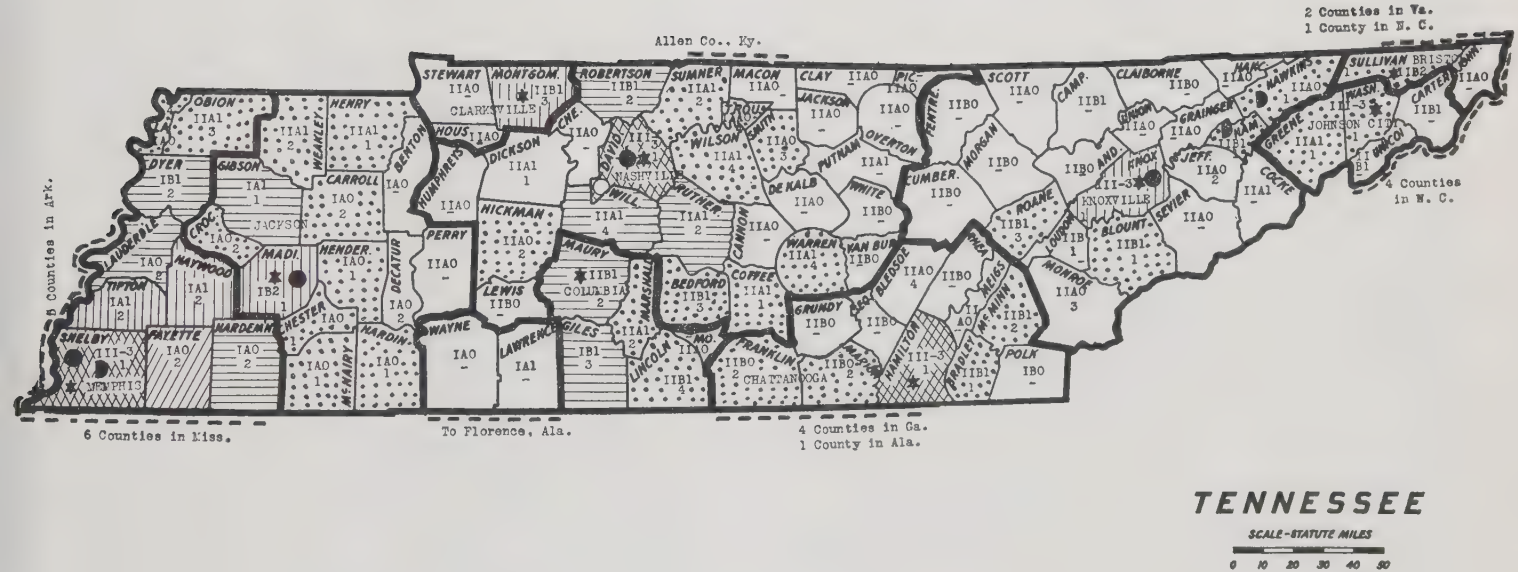
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - O - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Texas

Population

Total population 5,824,715; Negro population 854,964, or 14.7 percent of the total. Of the 254 counties in Texas, only the 104 in the eastern half of the State were considered in this study, as there was an insignificant Negro population in the western half of the State. One of these 104 counties had fewer than 100 Negroes. Of the remaining 103 counties only 4 had 50 percent or more of the population Negro. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Texas increased 21.4 percent; the Negro population 15.3 percent. Of the Negroes born in Texas 12.6 percent were living in other States, while 11.4 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 42.6 percent were under 20 years of age; 42.7 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 41 percent of the total population of the State was urban—40.6 percent of the white population and 38.6 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 12.7 in the percent Negroes were urban. Thirty-six of the 103 counties (35 percent) had no urban Negroes, while 16 counties had 50 percent or more of their Negro population urban. Ten counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the 104 Texas counties 12 were non-farm, 10 of which were metropolitan. There were only 3 farm other than cotton counties, and 89 cotton counties.

Forty-two of the farm counties were industrially diversified; 50 had no industrial diversification.

Ten counties were metropolitan; 2 were other non-farm; 10 were farm city (10,000 to 25,000 population); 46 were farm town (2,500 to 10,000 population); 36 were rural.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, and the third the size of the largest city. Thus IA1 is a cotton county with no industrial diversification and a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked IIBO is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, and rural. A county marked III-3 is a nonfarm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Nine Arkansas counties use Texarkana, Tex., as a trade center. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Less than half of all the Negro gainful workers of the State (42.8 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 29.3 percent were in domestic and personal service; 13.8 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 2.6 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators of the State, 23.9 percent were owners and 76.1 percent were tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 103 counties was 71.1. Eighteen counties had an Index of 100 or over, while 9 counties had an index under 50.

The per capita wealth for the total State population for 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,592, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 37.

In home ownership, 44.8 percent of the white families, and 30 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 1.4 percent of the native white population and 13.4 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term was 151.6 days, and this was 89.7 percent as long as the term for white children (median ratio). Information regarding the current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was not available for Texas. The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 12.7, which was 49.1 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$816.67, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 67.8. The median percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was 95.8, and the median Negro-white ratio of teachers with such training was 98.7. There were 40.8 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 (1938-39, all counties).

When 94 Texas counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 34 counties were in the highest quartile, 30 in the second quartile, 23 in the third, and 7 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

Bishop College (4-year; private), Marshall, Harrison County.

Butler College (2-year; private), Tyler, Smith County.

Conroe Normal and Industrial College (2-year; private), Conroe, Montgomery County.

Guadalupe College (4 year; private), Seguin, Guadalupe County.

Houston College for Negroes (4-year; public), Houston, Harris County.

Jarvis Christian College (4-year; private), Hawkins, Wood County.

Mary Allen Junior College (2-year; private), Crockett, Houston County.

Paul Quinn College (4-year; private), Waco, McLennan County.

Prairie View State College (4-year; public, offering graduate work), Prairie View, Waller County.

St. Phillips Junior College (2-year; private), San Antonio, Bexar County.

Samuel Houston College (4-year; private), Austin, Travis County.

Texas College (4-year; private), Tyler, Smith County.

Tillotson College (4-year; private), Austin, Travis County.

Wiley College (4-year; private), Marshall, Harrison County.

¹ 1937-1938 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Virginia

Population

Total population 2,421,851; Negro population 650,165, or 26.8 percent of the total. Of the 100 counties in Virginia, 84 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro. Twenty of these counties had 50 percent or more of their population Negro. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of Virginia increased 9.4 percent, while the Negro population decreased 5.8 percent. Of the Negroes born in Virginia 36.5 percent were living in other States, while 11.2 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 44.4 percent were under 20 years of age; 47.4 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 32.4 percent of the total population were urban—32.3 percent of the white population and 32.8 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 9.2 in the percent Negroes were urban. Fifty-four of the 84 counties (64.3 percent) had no urban Negroes, while 11 counties had 50 percent or more of the Negro population urban. Six counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the total 100 counties in Virginia 12 were non-farm counties of which 6 were metropolitan. There were 86 farm other than cotton counties of which 70 had 5 percent or more Negroes. There were 2 farm cotton counties both of which had 5 percent or more Negroes.

Thirty-five of the total farm counties were industrially diversified; 53 had no industrial diversification.

Six of the total counties were metropolitan; 6 were other non-farm; 5 were farm city (10,000 to 25,000 population); 17 were farm town (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 66 were rural. Fifty-three of the 66 rural counties had 5 percent or more Negroes.

The economy, industrialization, and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, and the third the size of the largest city. Thus IA0 is a cotton county, with no industrial diversification, and rural. A county marked IIB1 is farm other than cotton, industrially diversified, with a town of 2,500 to 10,000 population. A county marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Various counties in Virginia use retail trade centers in other States, while counties in West Virginia and North Carolina use Virginia trade centers. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Less than a third of all the Negro gainful workers (31.9 percent) were engaged in agriculture; 27.4 percent were in domestic and personal service; 21.4 percent were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 2.9 percent were in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators, 61.6 percent were owners and 38.4 percent were tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 84 Virginia counties was 86.1. Nineteen of the counties had an Index of 100 or over, and no county had an Index of less than 50.

The per capita wealth of the total State population for 1936, as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940), was \$2,017, and the population per individual income tax return for 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 39.

In home ownership, 54.3 percent of the white families, and 43.6 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 5 percent of the white population, and 19.2 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

The median length of the Negro school term (1937-38) was 164.3 days, and this was 97.8 percent as long as the term for white children (median ratio). Information concerning the current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was not available for Virginia. The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 11.7, which was 42.5 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). The median annual salary for Negro high-school teachers was \$709.38, with a median ratio to white teachers' salaries of 65.2. The median percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training was 82.5; and the median Negro-white ratio of teachers with such training was 88.3 (1937-38). There were 29.5 Negroes in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 84 Virginia counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 18 counties were in the highest quartile, 21 in the second quartile, 22 in the third, and 23 in the lowest. The quartile rank of each county is indicated on the map by the figures 1 to 4 which appear under the county type symbols. Counties having fewer than 100 Negroes age 15-19 were not ranked.

Negro Colleges

Virginia has 8 colleges for Negroes distributed as follows:

- Bishop Payne Divinity School (professional), Petersburg, Dinwiddie County. (Not shown on map.)
- Hampton Institute (4-year; private, offering graduate work), Hampton, Elizabeth City County.
- Nansemond Collegiate Institute (2-year; private), Suffolk, Nansemond County.
- St. Paul Normal and Industrial School (2-year; private), Lawrenceville, Brunswick County.
- Virginia State College for Negroes (4-year; public, offering graduate work), Eltrick, Chesterfield County.
- Virginia Theological Seminary and College (4-year; private), Lynchburg, Campbell County.
- Virginia Union University (4-year; private), Richmond, Henrico County.
- Virginia Union University (2-year; private), Norfolk Branch, Norfolk, Norfolk County. (Not shown on map.)

¹ 1938-39 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - 0 - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

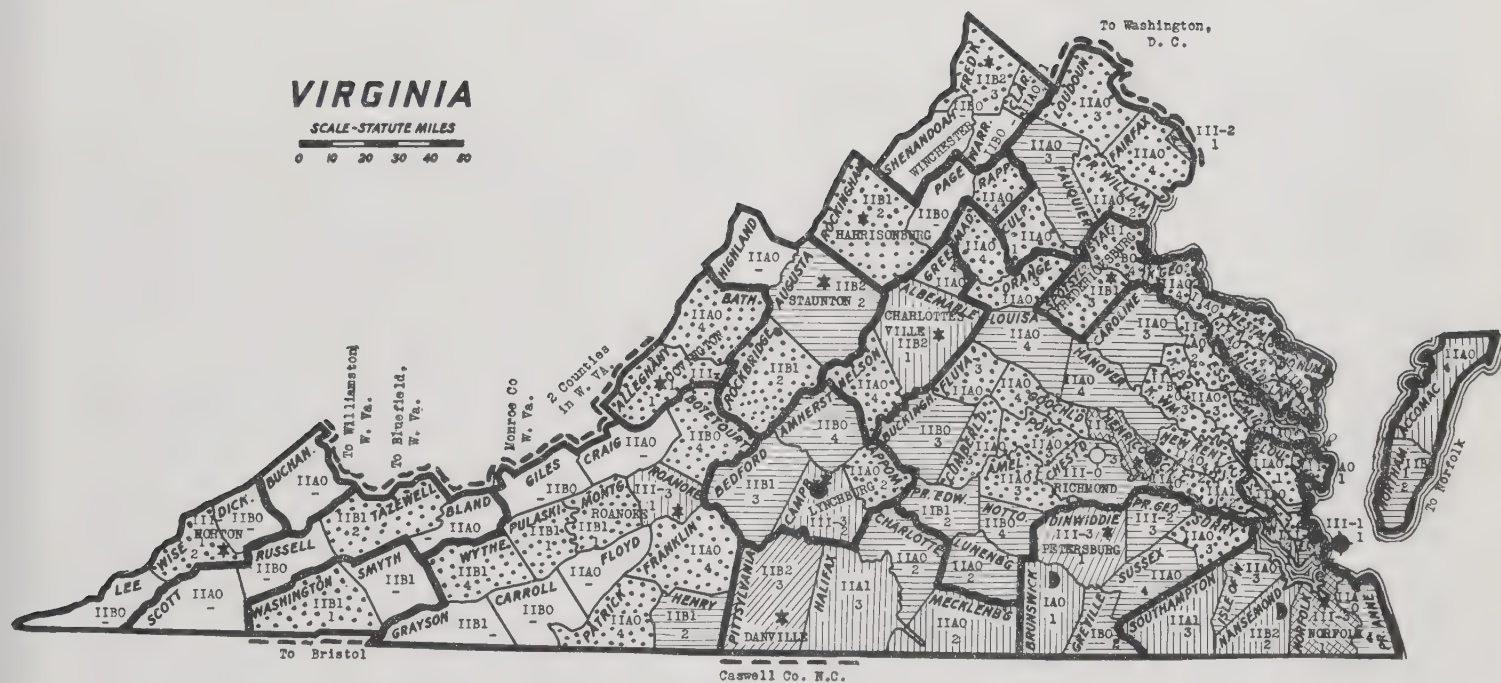
6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931

VIRGINIA

SCALE-STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50



West Virginia

Population

Total population 1,729,205; Negro population 114,893, or 6.6 percent of the total. Of the 55 West Virginia counties only the 15 having 5 percent or more Negroes were typed. Of these 15 no county had as much as 30 percent of its population Negro, and only 1 county had 20 percent or more Negroes. It should be noted that the map shows the number of Negroes rather than the percent in each county.

From 1920 to 1930 the white population of West Virginia (all counties) increased 17.2 percent; the Negro population 33.1 percent. Of the Negroes born in West Virginia 27.8 percent were living in other States, while 59.1 percent of the 1930 Negro population of the State were born elsewhere. Of the total population 46.1 percent were under 20 years of age; 39.6 percent of the Negro population were under 20.

Urbanization

In 1930, 28.4 percent of the total population were urban—28.5 percent of the white population and 27.2 percent of the Negro population. There was an increase from 1910 to 1930 of 3.2 in the percent Negroes were urban. Four of the 15 counties (26.7 percent) had no urban Negroes, while 4 counties had 50 percent or more of the Negro population urban. Two of the 15 counties had metropolitan cities of 25,000 population or more.

County Types

Of the 15 West Virginia counties typed, 9 were non-farm, only 2 of which were metropolitan. There were 6 farm other than cotton counties, and no cotton counties.

All of the 6 farm counties were industrially diversified.

Two counties were metropolitan; 7 were other non-farm, one was farm city (10,000 to 25,000 population); 1 was farm town (2,500 to 10,000 population); and 4 were rural.

The economy, industrialization and urbanization of any county can be determined from the map. The first figure of the tripartite symbol represents the economy, the second the industrialization, the third the size of the largest city. Thus IIBO is a farm other than cotton county, industrially diversified, and rural. A county marked III-0 is a non-farm rural county, while one marked III-3 is a non-farm county with a metropolitan city.

Communication

The heavy black lines on the map indicate the boundaries of trade areas. That is, the counties which constitute such an area generally use as a retail shopping center the starred city within the area. Various counties in West Virginia use trade centers in other States, while some Virginia counties use trade centers in West Virginia. The trade centers indicate in some measure the general direction of communication lines.

Occupations

Only 3.6 percent of the total gainful Negro workers of West Virginia are engaged in agriculture. The largest single occupational group was that of extraction of minerals which occupied 47.5 percent of the Negro workers. There were 24.8 percent in domestic and personal service; 10.6 percent in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 3.9 percent in professional service.

Of the Negro farm operators, 75.9 percent were owners and 24.1 percent were tenants.

Economic and Cultural Levels

The median Plane of Living Index for the 15 West Virginia counties with 5 percent or more Negroes was 78.7. No county had an Index of 100 or over, but no county fell below an Index of 50.

The per capita wealth of the total State population for 1936 as estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board (World Almanac, 1940) was \$1,536, and the population per individual income tax return in 1936 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1939) was 36.

In home ownership, 47.1 percent of the white families, and 18.6 percent of the Negro families owned their homes.

In 1930, 3.8 percent of the native white population, and 11.3 percent of the Negro population were illiterate.

Education¹

Information regarding the average length of the Negro school term and the current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled was not available for West Virginia. The median percent of the total Negro school enrollment in high school was 17.2; which was 85 percent of the proportion of the white school enrollment in high school (median ratio). Information regarding the annual salaries of Negro high-school teachers, and information regarding the percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years' college training were not available for West Virginia. There were 99.1 Negro students in college for each 1,000 Negroes of college age (1938-39, all counties).

When 18 West Virginia counties were ranked with reference to the proportion of Negroes of college age in college (979 counties were ranked), 16 West Virginia counties were in the highest quartile, 1 was in the second quartile, 1 in the third, and none in the lowest.

Negro Colleges

West Virginia has 3 Negro colleges located as follows:

Bluefield State Teachers College (4-year; public), Bluefield, Mercer County.

Storer College (4-year; private), Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County.

West Virginia State College (4-year; public), Institute, Kanawha County.

¹ 1937-38 unless otherwise indicated; school data refer only to counties having 5 percent or more Negroes.

LEGEND FOR MAP

1. Number of Negroes in county: 1930

- Less than 1,000
- 1,000 - 4,999
- 5,000 - 9,999
- 10,000 - 19,999
- 20,000 - 29,999
- 30,000 or more

2. - A trade area^{1/}

3. - Location of a trade center^{1/}

4. Type(s) of Negro college(s) in county

- 4-year public college offering graduate work
- 4-year private college offering graduate work
- 4-year public college
- 4-year private college
- 3-year public college
- 2-year public college
- 2-year private college

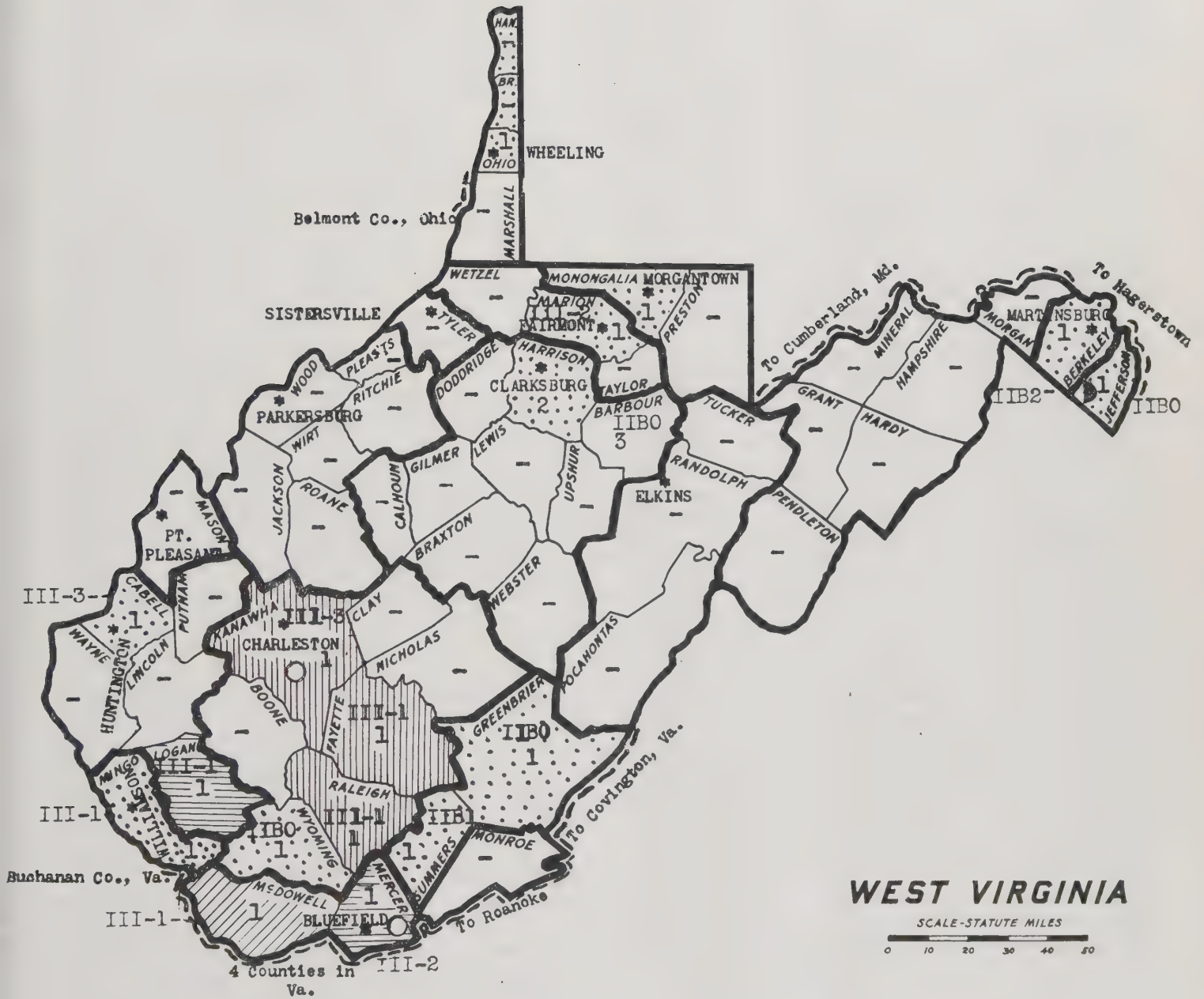
5. County type: composite symbol

- Basic economy:
 - I - Farming: cotton
 - II - Farming: other than cotton
 - III - Non-farm economy
- Industrialization:
 - A - No industrial diversification
 - B - Industrial diversification
- Urbanization:
 - O - No urban area in county
 - 1 - Urban area(s) of 2,500 - 9,999
 - 2 - Urban area(s) of 10,000 - 24,999
 - 3 - Urban area(s) of 25,000 or more

6. Quartile rank of county (with reference to 979 counties) on basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county

- 1 - First (highest) quartile
- 2 - Second (next highest) quartile
- 3 - Third quartile
- 4 - Fourth (lowest) quartile
- County not ranked because less than 100 Negroes age 15-19 resided in county in 1930

^{1/} Trade areas from J. Walter Thompson - Population and its Distribution, New York, Harper and Brothers - Fourth Edition, 1931



Chapter VI. Socio-Economic Status and the Higher Education of Negroes

Education of Negroes as a Special Problem

THE earlier chapters of this volume have been devoted to a study of the social and economic status of the largest minority group in our population. An analysis has been made of the historical background and the sociological framework within which the Negro's life—and hence the problem of his education—is set. Special attention has been given to the problems of the region in which three-fourths of the American Negroes live. Analyses have been made, by counties and by States, to reveal the economic and cultural setting of the population, and to discover the quality of the elementary and secondary school opportunity of both the total and the Negro group.

The study is based on the fundamental assumption that the United States of America is in its ideals, if not wholly in its practices, a democracy. To be consistent with the principles of democracy, educational opportunity should be based on factors other than race, class, or place of birth. The wide chasm between our democratic ideal and the reality of our practice is revealed in the economic deprivations and cultural lag which are seen to characterize large elements of the population in various areas of the country. This lag is particularly acute in the southern regions. The differentials in per capita income, taxable resources, farm income, and wage scales are seen to have their counterpart in isolation, a low plane of living, a lack of library and other reading facilities, a high illiteracy rate, and a series of low educational indices.

It is clear from the data set forth, that there are wide variations in the educational provisions made by various States for both the white and the Negro population. Furthermore, within any State there are striking inequalities among the various counties, so that, for example, for either a white person or a Negro, having been born in a rural cotton rather than a non-farm county may make the difference between the probability of receiving an adequate education or of ending one's schooling with the elementary grades.

Within these southern regions one-fourth of the population are Negroes, and here are to be found three-fourths of all the Negroes of the Nation. The evidence shows this minority group to be subject to all the deprivations of the region plus many others that are superimposed because of race. Not least among these inequalities are those of the separate schools in which the Negro child receives, on the average, only slightly more

than a third of the funds expended on his white neighbor. These differentials exist in the provisions for the education of Negroes at the college level as well as in the elementary and secondary schools.

It is recognized that in the States considered in this study, separate educational facilities for Negroes are, for the most part, legally mandatory. Moreover, the system of separate schools for Negroes has been shown to be a part of a dual organization of society in which tradition and custom sanction the segregation pattern. Since it is not possible arbitrarily to change the educational system without there being corresponding changes in the social organization, it is necessary that the higher education of Negroes be considered primarily as a problem of the separate Negro college.

However, the educational inequalities and economic disadvantages of the southern regions, together with the Negro's special handicaps within the area, make it impossible to consider adequately the higher education of Negroes apart from the complex of problems inherent in our dual society and the Negro's segregated life. So complex is this situation that if it were possible to meet all the financial needs of the Negro colleges and universities of the South, the basic problems underlying the higher education of Negroes would still be a matter of national concern.

It is, for example, increasingly evident that Negroes have developed along educational and cultural lines more rapidly than our social system has changed in adjustment to the situation. This disequilibrium appears in the occupational limitation placed on Negroes of ability and training; it is also apparent in the number of Negro students ready for graduate and professional education with no provision, or at least inadequate provision, for meeting their needs. As the general educational and economic level of the Negro population has been raised there has been an increased demand for graduate work, both as a normal result of the higher educational status and also as a preparation for certain occupations in which the graduate degree is required. Some States have attempted partially to meet this situation by a system of out-of-State scholarships and, more recently, by the addition of certain graduate courses to the curricula of existing institutions for Negroes. As yet, however, equality of opportunity for white and Negro students has been achieved by none of the States in which the separate schools are required.

Changes in the social structure—of which the educational system is a part—must come slowly if disor-

ganization is not to result. However, the data presented in this study suggest that the rate of change in the status and opportunity of Negroes should be accelerated in order to avoid the disequilibrium that comes of extreme social lag. Not only is this social lag both apparent and acute at the higher educational level, but change can be made most easily at this level where cultural differences are minimized, where tolerance is customarily extolled, and where changes would involve relatively small numbers of Negroes. That is, the wastefulness and inadequacy involved in the duplication of educational services, as well as the problems of a more adequate participation of Negroes in American life can be attacked most easily at the graduate level, in those States in which the segregation pattern is least rigid. On the undergraduate level in the majority of States, and even on the graduate level in many of the States, it appears that some means of making progress within the dual system must be found. And, of course, the removal of educational inequalities does not in itself take care of the problems involved in minority group status, or the arbitrary limitation of occupational opportunity.

The fundamental factor in the special problems of the education of Negroes thus seems to be inherent in the bi-racial social organization. Therefore while it is clear that any effective effort to determine fundamental policies in the higher education of Negroes must take into account the improving of the quality of education on the elementary and secondary levels, it is equally clear that the removing of inequalities in the educational system at all levels would still leave relatively untouched the basic question of the kind of life the Negro in America is expected to live.

National Aspects of the Status and Education of Negroes

The data presented in the earlier sections of this study suggest that our bi-racial social organization and the system of separate schools which is one of its manifestations, are national problems, whether considered historically, economically, culturally, or even politically.

The Nation accepts some kind of responsibility for all the people it admits to its borders; it assumes a special responsibility for those whom, because of birth or naturalization, it admits to the status of citizens. Historically, the Negro people were brought to this continent without their consent, and for the economic benefit of people throughout the territory then settled. Their labor was generally employed wherever geographic and other conditions made it profitable. However, when the Nation took the responsibility of conferring citizenship upon 4 million former slaves, adequate measures were not taken to educate and train them for their new status.

The evidence all points to the fact that even under normal economic and social conditions no single section of the Nation could have carried adequately the burden of educating the newly freed, and then economically dependent, Negro population. Furthermore, in the region in which most of the Negroes lived, the poverty and disorganization incident to a violent disruption of the social order helped to create in the total population an economic, educational, and cultural lag that has not yet been overcome.

The seriousness of this situation has been revealed in the economic and educational data presented in the earlier sections of this volume. States with the least economic resources are generally those with the lowest cultural and educational indices. As indicated in chapter III these States are not only agricultural, but are largely dependent on cotton and tobacco. These are the two crops which are associated with a high rate of tenancy, a high density of farm population, and a low per capita farm income. This area is also the region in which there is a high ratio of children to adults.

That the agricultural pattern rather than the high proportion of Negroes is the major factor in the present situation is suggested by the fact that the low economic and cultural indices apply to the white as well as the Negro population. Moreover, the county analyses indicate that the facts of cotton and the associated tenancy may have a closer and more consistent relation to a low plane of living and low educational indices than has the proportion which Negroes are of the population. The rate of white tenancy is in many cases as high as the rate of Negro tenancy. Both the white and the Negro sharecropper are victims of a system and both are a national as well as a regional concern.

It has been made clear that these regional disadvantages are of concern to the Nation not only because of economic interrelations; they are also of significance because of interstate and inter-regional migration. The degree of migration from rural to urban areas, from one State to another, and from South to North, means that the children, white or Negro, born and educated in one region become the adults of another region. Since the Negro child has the least privileged position in the South, his migration does most to bring down the economic and cultural levels of the areas to which he goes. The Nation seeks to protect itself from the entrance of undesirable immigrants. It can protect itself from undesirable elements in its own population only by raising the educational level of its underprivileged areas.

These regional problems of the South have been shown to be both complex and of long standing. They call for a utilization of State, regional, and national resources for research and planning in order that the social, economic, and technological problems can be met. Until these regional handicaps are to some

extent overcome it will be impossible for many of the Southern States to provide adequately for the education of their children and youth. In an earlier chapter it was pointed out that in some of the States all, or practically all, of the resources available under a model tax plan would be required to bring the public schools of these States to the national average. Almost all of the Southern States are spending for education a larger proportion of their taxes than the national average. While a more efficient tax system would help the situation in some cases, the problem cannot be solved by this means alone. Unless some of these States have assistance there is little hope that their educational program for either white or Negro children will reach the national level.

The problem is complicated by the system of dual schools, but it has been made clear that the separate schools do not constitute the whole of the problem. It is true, however, that in a region so economically handicapped, the Negro schools get far less than their proportionate share of available resources. One of the most striking of the tables shown in the county analyses indicates that not only is it true that when the white people have little the Negroes have less, but the proportion of the school funds available to Negroes steadily decreases with the decrease in the total amount available. That is, the less there is to divide the less equitably is the division made.

These facts point to one unmistakable conclusion. So long as the educational program in the poorest States, or in many of the counties or school districts of other States, depends on the economic resources of that State, or county, or district alone, there will be gross inequalities in the educational opportunities of the children and youth of America. Furthermore, were there to be in the majority of Southern States or counties an absolutely equal per capita division of school funds irrespective of race, both the white and colored children of that State or county would be at a disadvantage when compared with the rest of the Nation. This disadvantage would remain, though to a less extent, even if all segregation in the schools were abolished, that is, if the extra cost involved in the duplication of services were eliminated.

The separate Negro school is not always a duplication of service or an added expense. The administration for the white and Negro schools is usually the same, and in cities the total number of buildings, classrooms, and teachers may be no greater than would be required without the separate schools. The greatest additional expense comes in small towns or rural areas, especially at the high-school level, where the per capita cost of a given quality of service may be doubled by the dual system.

The ability of a region to solve its own problems, or to aid in their solution, is dependent in large measure on the quality and inclusiveness of its educational

program. That is, there must be a broad base of effective elementary and secondary education, and a program of higher education that provides the teaching and research facilities necessary to the training of an adequate leadership.

The inadequacy of elementary and secondary education in a large part of the South has been pointed out. At the higher educational level the same lack appears even in the institutions for white students. Progress has been made toward developing adequate library and other research facilities in certain centers but the higher institutions in general are handicapped by the same lack of economic resources that prevent the development of effective elementary and secondary schools.

Moreover, as the segregation pattern extends through the entire educational system, the Negro colleges and universities suffer the same relative disadvantage as do the elementary and secondary schools for Negroes. This disadvantage appears not only in inferior equipment and less adequately prepared teachers but also in the narrower range of fields in which instruction is available. It has already been pointed out that the problem is particularly acute with reference to graduate and professional training.

The Supreme Court decision¹ that a State requiring separate facilities for Negroes must provide within the State an educational opportunity for Negroes equivalent to that offered white students, places the problem squarely before the several States. It would appear, therefore, that there are only two ways in which the poorest States could provide, out of their own resources, equal educational facilities for the two races. One way would involve reducing the already low standards of white institutions. The other would require that white institutions be opened to Negroes. But the States in which the facilities for white students are now most inadequate, are also the States in which tradition and custom combine to make the segregation pattern most rigid and most deeply embedded in the mores. Unless custom and tradition as well as the recognized principles by which orderly social change takes place are disregarded, these States can meet the requirements of the Supreme Court ruling only if their limited State resources are supplemented by Federal or other aid.

Regional and State Planning for the Higher Education of Negroes

While it is clear that many of the South's problems are beyond the control of the region, evidence points to a wide gap between the natural resources of the area and the social and technological advance which would insure the full utilization of those resources. Furthermore, the fullest utilization of the human resources of

¹ *Missouri, ex rel. Gaines v. Canada, Registrar of the University of Missouri, et al.*, 305 U. S. 337, 1938.

the South depends on the lifting of the educational level of the total population, and also on a wider distribution of both responsibilities and rewards. So long as the Negro population is arbitrarily shut off from the duties and the privileges of full citizenship this region of the Nation is attempting to overcome its handicapped position with only a part of its available human resources. A study of the regional situation suggests that the major problem of the South is to find some way by which the total population may cooperate in the most effective utilization of the region's natural resources for the common good of all the people. The evidence increasingly points to the fact that Negroes are capable of making an effective contribution to this end.

The data presented in earlier chapters have shown the relation between the ineffective use of natural resources and low educational indices for both the white and the Negro population. The inescapable conclusion is that the economic and the educational advance of the region must take place together. On the one hand, poverty results in a low educational level; on the other, regional problems can be solved only by a highly skilled leadership and a trained population. The capable leadership and the intelligent general population presuppose a broad and effective educational base as well as university centers in which the best of advanced training is available.

The structure of the American educational system is such that the responsibility for education rests with the States. The equalization of educational opportunity within the State, and the equitable division of school funds where separate schools are required are therefore responsibilities which rest upon the several States. It must be recognized, however, that very few, if any, of the Southern States have at this time sufficient taxable resources to provide for all their population an educational opportunity which approximates the national average. It therefore appears that the lifting of the elementary and secondary school level of the total population of the South can be achieved only if there is some way by which the best efforts of these States can be supplemented by resources not now available within the area.

Adequate utilization of both the natural and the human resources of the South depends in large measure on the quality of leadership within the region. Competent students of the South emphasize the necessity of properly equipped research centers in which attention could be given to the agricultural, scientific, technological, economic, and sociological problems of the Southern States. These problems will not be met by the provision of ordinary vocational training, important as such training is. They call for major research by persons who have been taught to think, to see problems in the large, to analyze, to plan, and to create.

As yet but a few of the Southern States have made significant progress toward the development of such

university centers for white students, and even less has been done for Negroes. Considering the poverty of most of the Southern States and the complexity of the problems of the region, the question must be raised whether there should not be regional or interstate cooperation in providing adequately equipped centers for such specialized research and training, and further, whether the economic and technological needs of the South should not outweigh tradition so that such training might be made available irrespective of race.

Within each State there is much to be gained by a cooperative survey of the location and function of the various institutions for Negroes. Most of the Negro colleges were located without reference to other institutions in the same area and seemingly without much regard to the needs and problems of the population. A survey of the needs of the total Negro population of the State, and a study of the particular needs which each institution is best prepared to meet, may be the means of eliminating duplication, of strengthening the existing colleges, and of substituting cooperative effort for wasteful competition.

The preceding paragraphs of this section have emphasized the interrelation of economic and educational problems. They have implied that the lifting of the educational level of the Negro population is dependent, in large measure, on the solution of certain problems of the region as a whole. On the other hand, any improvement in the higher education of Negroes is in itself a contribution to the solution of the region's problems.

The Problem of the College in Defining Its Function

Turning to a consideration of the college itself, we find that the college for Negroes faces all the problems which other colleges face plus the special problems of a segregated institution which has the responsibility for the education of a minority group. It has not only the responsibility for educating American youth but for educating youth who will be denied some of the goals and forbidden some of the values which the society itself has set up. It deals with a specific group of youth who have all the problems of white youth plus many more that are peculiarly their own.

One of the first problems any college faces is that of defining its function as a specific type of institution. It must have a conception of itself as a liberal arts or a vocational college, and must see clearly its responsibility as a junior college, a 4-year college, a university, or a graduate and professional school. It must not, if it is to be effective, merely add to its program this or that course or department because it fears the competition of a neighboring institution. All these responsibilities the Negro college shares with the white college.

The Negro college also shares with the white college

an obligation to think of itself in relation to the area it serves. This obligation is particularly important to the Negro college both because of the special economic problems of Negroes in many areas and also because of the extreme variations in the service areas of the Negro institutions. Many of the Negro colleges draw almost the whole of their student body from a local area and they are in fact of service, if not in name and support, municipal institutions. On the other hand, some of the more outstanding Negro institutions not only draw the majority of their students from outside the local area but sometimes a large proportion of the students come from outside the State. Other institutions have a special obligation to the State in which they are located as vocational or teachers colleges. But whatever the area served the college must conceive of its responsibility clearly and must know the needs and problems of the group it serves.

Moreover, any Negro college serves a group with a special type of background and with special problems. To serve a Negro group does not in itself call for a special type of institution, or a special curriculum, but it does mean that the special needs and problems of the Negro group—in terms of the background of their past, their present status, and their potential future—will affect the aims and methods of the entire institution.

Perhaps one of the major responsibilities of the Negro college is in relation to its unconscious if not overt assumptions regarding certain basic factors. Among these basic factors are the college's conception of itself as a college for Negro youth. Furthermore, as an institution serving a minority group whose social and economic position is rapidly changing, the college must have a conception of desirable goals in terms of the ultimate position of the Negro in the American social order and some idea of effective means, direct or indirect, toward the desired ends. If the college has no clear conception of itself as an institution for training Negro youth, or if it fails to take account of the minority group status of its students its program will, to that extent, lack both reality and specific direction. Furthermore, whether or not the college is aware of the fact, its students are influenced by the underlying assumptions of the institution with reference to the ultimate goals of the Negro people.

The college for Negroes has special problems as an institution in its dual relationship to the dominant world within which it is set and on which it is largely dependent for support, and, on the other hand, to the minority group which it serves. This special position affects first of all the institution's administration and finance. Whether privately or publicly owned many Negro colleges operate on funds which are controlled largely by white people, and which are contingent on their interest and good will—philanthropists, private or church boards, a municipal administration, or a State legislature. Moreover, the institution is controlled by a

board that usually is dominated wholly or in some measure by white persons, even though the teaching and administrative staff may be made up of Negroes. The institution is under pressure to conform to the local white community's conception of appropriate goals in the education of Negroes. The result of these factors is that the college has a divided responsibility in that it is largely controlled by one group while it seeks to serve another. To the extent to which the conception of appropriate goals is shared by both groups there is usually no great problem. Where the white and Negro groups have different conceptions of appropriate goals the college is forced to a perpetual compromise. Furthermore, it is almost always subject to financial limitations of one kind and another due, in part at least, to its position as an institution serving a minority group of inferior socio-economic status.

Another problem accentuated by the college's position in relation to a minority group is that of the quality and training of its staff. If the teachers are drawn from its own area they are likely to be victims of the same cultural limitations as those of their students. If the teacher is brought in from a northern urban environment he faces the problem of being unfamiliar with the situation from which most of the students come and may do his work with a sense of detachment from the actualities of the region. In any case the financial limitations of the school may make it impossible to secure teachers with adequate training.

Even when the teacher comes to the institution with a satisfactory background of cultural opportunity and training there are grave difficulties in the way of his maintaining his personal and professional standards. He is subject to the limitations on cultural participation in the community; the school library facilities are usually inadequate and his own funds too limited to secure for himself the advantages of books and travel. He likewise suffers from the lack of professional contacts and stimulation since such contacts are usually limited to persons of his own race who suffer from the same lack. In some fields Negroes belong to the same professional groups as their white colleagues but this is not true of all groups especially those that are State or regional in character.

So long as the present cultural isolation of the Negro exists, the college for Negroes offers almost the only opportunity for research available to the Negro scholar. Even the northern colleges and universities which are open to both white and Negro students almost always exclude the Negro scholar from their faculties or from professional positions in their research laboratories. This situation places upon the Negro institutions a special responsibility for encouraging research on the part of their faculties, but it also places upon the Nation a special obligation to assist in the provision of adequate research facilities in the colleges and universities for Negroes.

The isolation of the Negro group adds importance to the question of an all Negro or a biracial faculty. At present there are three types of college experiences possible for the Negro student. He may attend a northern institution in which most of his fellow students and essentially all his teachers will be white. He will find certain advantages in that academic standards may be high and competition keen enough to challenge his best efforts. He will have some opportunity for association, in academic matters at least, with white persons of ability and will thus escape some of the limitations of an altogether segregated experience. He will probably miss the experience of feeling wholly one of the group and of being accepted fully into college life. The chances are that he will have a room with some Negro family rather than in a dormitory; that he will share to a limited extent, if at all, in the nonacademic activities of college life. He will probably have no teachers of his own race and no special attention given to his peculiar problems as a Negro.

A second type of experience comes to the student of the Negro college with an all Negro faculty and administration. Here the student has the advantage of living the kind of social life that he will live outside of college, that is, he meets and associates with those of his own race in social affairs that are not participated in by white persons. He has no competition with persons outside his own race in either campus or academic affairs, and there are no artificial limitations placed on him within the larger framework of his segregated world. His teachers are of his own race and there is greater opportunity than in the northern institution for intimate contact between teacher and pupil and a greater possibility of his special needs and problems being given consideration.

In a sense, however, the Negro college with an all Negro faculty provides for the student a certain escape from reality. While his social life after college will probably be a segregated one limited to his own race, the rest of his life will not be an exclusively racial one. In the world of affairs he will have some contact with white persons, and he will live in a world that is governed and largely dominated by white people. The college which provides the student no experiences with persons other than those of his own race fails to prepare him for one of the essential adjustments of his after college life.

The third type of experience now possible for the Negro student is found in the Negro college with a biracial faculty. There are definite advantages to the student and to the institution as a whole when the faculty and students have the experience of normal association with persons of other than their own race. If the white members of the faculty are not distinguished in personality and ability, or if there is not mutual regard and respect, the experience may be more harmful than valuable. Although the association with white

persons that comes of a biracial faculty is a limited one it provides the Negro youth a type of experience that is not elsewhere easily obtainable.

The Negro college faces a special problem in its relation to the community in which it is located. Every college must face the question of its relation to the community both in terms of what it expects to receive from the community and of its conception of its obligation to the community. The Negro college must make a dual adjustment in terms of its relation to the white group and its responsibility to the Negro group. Usually the Negro college can expect less help than the white college receives from the community in the way of cultural support and cooperation. If Negro students, with their already limited background, are to find cultural enrichment it will probably be necessary for the college itself to supply the means. On the other hand, the Negro college which shuts itself off from either the Negro or the white community is missing one of its major opportunities for providing its students with guided experience in making satisfactory adjustments both with their own racial group and with the white world in which they must live.

The cultural isolation of the Negro group suggests that one of the Negro college's greatest problems as well as one of its largest opportunities for service lies in bringing about a greater community participation on the part of Negroes, and the finding of ways to increase the contact of educated white and Negro persons. One of the basic facts in the present situation is the lack of contact between the educated classes of the two races. White persons have almost no contact with Negroes except those who are laborers or servants. This means that almost all interracial association takes place either on the lower economic levels or else as employer and employee, the most intimate association being that between white employers and domestic servants. The result of this situation is that the educated Negro is practically unknown to white persons. This fact has two important results. The one is that the white group's concept of the Negro is based on the experience with lower class Negroes. A second result is that there is little or no opportunity for white persons to have this concept or its associated attitudes changed by sympathetic contact with Negroes of their own cultural and educational level.²

This isolation of the college probably accounts for one of the most striking facts revealed by the county analyses, that is, the apparent lack of influence of the Negro college on the county in which it is located. Although the counties in which two or more Negro colleges are located are generally metropolitan counties

² Buell Gallagher in his *American Caste and the Negro College* emphasizes the fact that to develop new attitudes people must have new experiences. Within a segregated situation it is difficult for white persons and Negroes to have experiences that do not fit into the pattern of dominance and subordination. Mr. Gallagher suggests the Negro college as one of the few areas in which a nonsegregated experience is possible.

with a relatively high plane of living, the per capita expenditure for Negro pupils and the proportion of the school funds allocated to the Negro pupils were generally as low or lower in these counties than in those in which there was no college for Negroes.

It is true of course that the advance of the Negro group is not in itself any guarantee of better attitudes on the part of white persons. It may even create antagonism due to increased competition. On the other hand, numerous white persons testify that their racial attitudes were profoundly modified by contact with a single Negro of education and personal charm. The other side of the picture should not be overlooked—that is, that Negroes themselves seldom meet white persons on common ground and therefore have little opportunity for those relationships in which there is mutual regard.

The College and the Socio-Economic Status of Negroes

If it is to serve its students adequately, the college for Negroes must take into account not only the minority group status of the Negro people, but all those problems which grow out of the low social and economic level which such status implies. The earlier chapters of this volume have described a series of economic, educational, and cultural deprivations which are common to the Southern regions but which are intensified for the Negro population.

In educational terms this low economic status suggests that fewer Negroes are able to go to college and that the factors of distance, tuition costs, and other expenses will be of greater moment than the same factors usually are to white students. It has been made clear that there is a definite relation between the location of Negro colleges and the percentage of Negroes of college age who are in college. This points to the value of the junior college and even of the 4-year college which serves local areas of relatively dense Negro population. It also suggests the necessity for relatively low fees and ample opportunity for self-help on the part of the students.

Another problem incident to the low economic status of the Negro is that of the meagerness and general limitation of the cultural background of many Negro students. Part of this limitation is due to the poverty, part to the cultural lag growing out of previous low status, part to the segregation pattern which excludes Negroes from libraries, museums, art galleries, lectures, concerts, and other cultural services, and which shuts them off from association with persons whose opportunities have been greater than their own. While many white students suffer from regional lack in this respect, Negroes suffer all the lack of the white population plus the special deprivations imposed because of race. An institution which fails to take account of the

cultural isolation and general limitation of Negro youth is neglecting an essential aspect of its responsibility.

A further problem confronting the Negro college is the limitation of opportunity due to the separate and inferior schools. The Negro child who attends a short-term elementary school or a high school lacking in library or laboratory equipment will enter college with a definite handicap. His poor school opportunity and impoverished home environment may express themselves in inferior reading ability, in a limited vocabulary, or in a faulty use of English. Moreover, the parents who are denied cultural and political participation in community or national life are not in a position to stimulate the child's interest in the world about him. Such children, even though they complete high school, will be greatly handicapped in their college studies. The child who lacks reading material at home or who misses the incentive that comes of the reading habit as a family pattern will find it difficult to overcome this handicap even in an adequate elementary or secondary school.

The college confronted with poorly prepared students may choose one of three possible courses of action. It can lower its requirements in order to admit and ultimately to graduate such students; it can arbitrarily apply rigid standards and thus exclude such students; or it may make provisions for special remedial courses by which the handicapped youth may overcome their deficiencies without lowering the standards of the institutions. It is doubtful whether the lowered requirements of admission will serve the ultimate good of the group but which of the other two alternatives is chosen will depend on the nature of the institution and the type of service it expects to render.

The occupational limitations of Negroes suggest that the Negro college has a special responsibility in the field of vocational training. It is increasingly true that the skill learned today may be outmoded tomorrow, and the occupation of the present may be completely eliminated by some technological development. At the same time that specialization and the demand for special skills increases, technological change is accelerated, adaptability and versatility become necessary qualities, and the ability to adjust to a rapidly changing situation becomes of paramount importance. This is particularly true for the Negro youth who must be ready to enter not only those occupations which are now open to him but those which may, because of changing conditions, open in the future. Whether or not the college supplies specific vocational training will depend on the way the particular institution conceives of its responsibility, but the understanding of one's own aptitudes in relation to general occupational trends should be a part of every student's education. It is particularly important to the Negro who is, occupationally, a marginal person.

The low social and economic status of Negroes fur-

ther suggests that particular attention may be needed in matters of health, nutrition, and personal hygiene. Not only is the development of personal health habits important but the Negro student should be helped to see his responsibility for community welfare. The isolation of the Negro group in most areas means that leadership in the matter of health habits, sanitation, diet, home nursing, and the care of children must come from within the Negro group. The college which provides classroom or special instruction combined with practical experience and service activities in this area will render a valuable service both to the individual student and to the community in which he is to live.

In most Southern communities the recreational facilities for Negroes are extremely limited, and the cultural poverty of many areas has prevented any awareness of, or interest in, a creative and enriching use of leisure. The recreational program of the Negro college should provide wholesome outdoor activities for all students. If, in addition, it leads them to discover music, handicrafts, gardening, nature lore, or the countless other interests which require a minimum of equipment and a maximum of creative self-direction, the college will have gone a long way toward helping its students find those inner resources which are a strong safeguard against emptiness and defeat.

The Negro college likewise has a responsibility for the religious and moral training of its students, and for the development of intellectual honesty and integrity. The instability of the family and the type of religious leadership found among Negroes in many of the less privileged areas place a special responsibility on the college in this field.

The Negro college has a special responsibility in helping its students develop resources with which to meet discrimination and the stigma of inferiority. While there is nothing to be gained by building up a fictitious past of grandeur for the Negro peoples, the Negro student should learn what most of his school histories and other reading material fail to tell him: That most of his ancestors came from a section of Africa in which there had been developed complex economic, cultural, and political systems, and furthermore that the Negro peoples have played a not unworthy part in the history of our own and other countries. Moreover, the Negro college may well consider the value of placing special emphasis on comparative studies and the type of social science courses which help the student see his own position objectively.

If the college is to provide those experiences necessary for effective citizenship there must be given to the student the opportunity to develop civic interest through appropriate studies and through the habit of democratic and cooperative action. The Negro is shut out from civic and community participation throughout most areas of the South. In his contact with the white world there is little opportunity for

civic responsibility, cooperative action, or democratic procedures. Yet these are all necessary both to the most effective group life of Negroes and to their participation in the larger areas of civic and national life. The college, by making its own administration a democratic and cooperative enterprise in which responsibility is shared by all, can provide important experiences not easily available elsewhere for Negro youth.

Finally, the low social and economic status of Negroes suggests the importance of developing both minority group techniques and a sense of responsibility for participation in the progress of society. The Negro colleges are the institutions best fitted to take the leadership in developing those cooperative techniques by which Negroes are able to work together for their common good as a group. On the other hand, the colleges may help Negroes see that their problems as a minority group are a part of a larger complex of social problems which affect our total population. Negroes, as a minority group, must seek better conditions for themselves. As Americans, Negroes must be ready to participate creatively in the making of a more democratic society. The Negro college can make possible experimental activities in both directions.

Special Objectives in the Higher Education of Negroes

In the light of the special needs and problems growing out of his minority group position, what has the Negro student a right to expect of his college or university?

In the first place, it is important to note that with the present low social and economic level of the masses of Negroes, the Negro college graduate bears a peculiar responsibility. In a much greater degree than is true of the white person, a college education in itself gives to the Negro a prestige and influence beyond that of other members of his race. It is a responsibility that reaches out in two directions—that of leadership of his own group on the one hand, and, on the other hand, that of the relationship of Negroes to the total community. The Negro student thus faces a world in which he will have both special problems and special responsibilities.

If it is to be realistic the college must accept the responsibility of helping the student not merely to live in the world as it now is but to live in a potentially different world, and above all in a rapidly changing world. The Negro youth in adjusting himself to the general changing situation must make a more drastic adjustment than white youth are called upon to make. Due to various reasons the changes are more rapid for Negroes than for white persons. For one thing the Negro started at a lower social and economic level and hence has had farther to go. For another, he is both culturally and occupationally a marginal person and he is subject to racial factors. That is, he does not win

or lose solely as an individual; he may lose because of the wholly arbitrary fact of belonging to a conspicuous minority. Furthermore, both the social and occupational pattern of Negro life changes as the Negro becomes urbanized and as he moves out of those regions in which the segregation pattern is most rigid.

The Negro youth who goes out from the colleges of today will live in neither a completely segregated nor a completely integrated world racially speaking. For a long time to come he will doubtless occupy a position of unstable equilibrium between these two extremes. It is important that he know how best to adapt himself to a constantly changing position but it is also important that he have some sense of direction, some conception of desired goals, and some notion of the relation of means and ends. Furthermore, he must know how to make an adjustment as an individual in a biracial society. He is not merely a member of a minority group but of a minority group in a changing relationship with a dominant white group. To ignore the fact that in his after-college life he will have relations with both white and Negro persons is to make of his college years an escape from reality.

The providing of those experiences which will help the student to make his adjustment in a biracial world is not to be regarded as a suggestion that the student be led to an acceptance of his status as fixed and inevitable. Rather a satisfactory adjustment is best defined on the one hand in terms of the maintenance of personal integrity and self-respect in the face of unsatisfactory conditions, and on the other hand in a constructive effort toward changing those conditions in which violence is done to personality and by which full economic and vocational opportunity is restricted.

The position of the Negro in the social structure suggests that the Negro student should find help in solving the peculiar personality problems growing out of his minority group status. The Negro child faces an assumption of inferiority, a limitation of opportunity, exclusion from cultural participation, and restrictions upon vocational choice and freedom of action. Thus a racial factor is added to the normal difficulties which youth face in achieving an integrated personality. The Negro student should be helped to learn how personality develops and the effect of his own position in the formation of his character and personality. He should be helped to make a satisfactory adjustment both as a person and as a Negro in order that he may live without frustration, servility, or defeat. He should know the historical and sociological background of his own position within our social order. To know the social and economic conditions which lie back of the present situation; to know the history of the Negro peoples here and elsewhere; and to know the sociological

framework within which group relations operate in other situations, will lay the foundations for the objectivity and understanding necessary for the successful meeting of problems which confront a minority group.

A final responsibility which the college for Negroes shares with other educational institutions is that of helping the student understand the larger world in which he is to live, and his relation to that world. Even the most primitive peoples understand the necessity of training youth to take over the responsibilities and duties of adult life. It is only by such training that the continuity of social life is preserved. In our modern, rapidly changing world this training involves a dual responsibility. Youth must learn to appreciate and cherish the values which are the common heritage of the group, for only thus is group solidarity and integration maintained. On the other hand, each new generation must lead the way toward constructive development which involves change and the substitution of new values for old.

In this difficult combination of stability and change Negroes have a particularly delicate and exacting role. As a minority group with the handicap of low social and economic status and the restrictions imposed by a color line, the Negro faces a situation in which there seems to be no clear cut goal. There is a certain escape and even security of a fashion in the acceptance of segregation and the bargaining power it offers with white people for improved services within the Negro economy. Moreover, within the segregated economy the Negro has individual status, a degree of vocational freedom, and certain privileges which are denied him in the outside world.

On the other hand, segregation now involves social and economic inferiority, and all that such inferiority implies in frustration and the distortion of personality. In whichever direction the Negro moves he will pay a heavy price. Whether one conceives the end as a separate Negro economy or an integration of Negroes into our general American life, the means toward that end will undoubtedly involve compromise and the setting up of temporary goals along the way. But it will make a great deal of difference in the means employed if there is a definite end in view. In a matter so crucial for himself and his people the Negro student should be given the guidance necessary to an intelligent choice by which his own life can be oriented. One of the heaviest and most difficult of the responsibilities which face the Negro college is that of helping the students understand the dual world which constitutes our social order, and teaching them to live constructively and creatively in such a world while they play their part in its progressive reconstruction.

Appendix A. Suggestions for Applying Socio-economic Data to Educational Problems

A. Purpose of this Outline

I. It is the purpose of this outline¹—

1. To lift up for attention certain major problems in the higher education of Negroes, particularly problems growing out of socio-economic status.
2. To make detailed analyses of certain of these problems.
3. To assist interested individuals and groups in analyzing similar problems relating to their own institutions.
4. To provide specific guidance for the practical utilization of the socio-economic material given in this volume.
5. To suggest other source material which should be of use in meeting educational problems growing out of social and economic situations.

II. It is hoped that these suggestions will be of value to such individuals and groups as the following:

1. Individual administrators and teachers concerned with a better understanding of the socio-economic background of their students.
2. Faculty groups who wish to study problems of administration and curricular organization in the light of related social and economic factors.
3. Workshop groups and seminars, either of faculty members or of students.
4. State officials, or the representatives of institutions within a State, who wish to consider State-wide problems of the higher education of Negroes.
5. Individuals or groups concerned with the relation of socio-economic factors to fundamental policies in the higher education of Negroes.

B. A Cooperative Study of Colleges Within a State

Many Negro colleges grew up without plan either as to location or function. Consequently, there is often competition between institutions with inefficiency growing out of duplication of services. On the other hand there are various areas which are not adequately served. The problem of function is related to the institution's geographic area of service, to the particular type of institution which the college is designed to be, and to the particular clientele which it serves. These factors are inter-related one with the other, and all three are related to problems of administration and curricular organization.

Probably the most effective method of determining the geographic area of service appropriate for each institution, the types of institutions most needed, and the curricular organization best suited to each institution, lies in a cooperative study of these problems by all the institutions within a State or other designated area. Such a cooperative study would involve at least the following:

I. An analysis of the higher education needs of Negroes in the State based on—

1. The location and number of the Negro population.

2. The potential Negro college population (based on the number of Negroes of college age, the number of high-school graduates, and the economic and social factors which determine whether youth attend college).
3. The socio-economic factors relevant to a determination of educational need and policy.

II. An analysis of the location, type, resources, and curricular organization of each institution.

III. A determination of the geographical area now served by each institution.

IV. An analysis of areas unserved, those in which there may be too many institutions regardless of type, and those in which there may be over-service of one type and under-service of another type due to competing programs.

V. A joint determination of the most effective ways of reaching unserved areas, eliminating competition, and, in the light of the total higher education needs of the State, defining co-operatively the type of service each institution is best equipped to render.

While such a cooperative study is perhaps best made on a State-wide basis, institutions or groups of institutions may make analyses of their own areas of service, evaluate their own objectives and organization in the light of regional and local needs, and study the problems growing out of the socio-economic status of their clientele. The suggested analyses which follow may be used by a single institution or by groups of institutions concerned with working together on their common problems.

C. Defining the Geographical Area of Service

I. What is the area now being served?

The area which an institution now serves can be determined by an analysis of the student body, either the present enrollment or an enrollment over a period of years. This analysis should reveal—

1. The percent of students who are local (live at home).
2. The percent of students from the county in which college is located.
3. The percent of students from adjacent counties.
4. The percent of students from within the State.

By taking a given percentage of the students by either towns or counties a contour map may be drawn showing the boundaries within which any given percentage of students live.

A college which draws 60 or 70 percent of its students from the town or county within which it is located may have a different type of service problem from that of an institution which serves a wider area. That is, the one may determine basic needs and policies in terms of local problems, whereas the other must consider the needs of a diverse group.

If it is possible to locate the counties to which students have gone to live after leaving college during the preceding 10-year period a different type of service area will be defined, one which may or may not coincide with the area from which students are drawn.

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, references to chapters, tables, or pages refer to this volume.

II. How may the institution determine the area it should serve?

Having determined its actual area of service, i. e., the geographical area from which its students come, and the areas to which its graduates go, the institution should then determine whether this is the area which should be served. Factors which should be considered are the following:

1. The location of the Negro population, and its age distribution.

The exact number of Negroes in any county and their age distribution may be determined from the U. S. Census Reports. The Negro population given by intervals of 1,000 or multiples of 1,000 may be ascertained from the State maps which appear in chapter V. Since the Negro population is not evenly distributed it is to be expected that population density would affect the potential areas of service of Negro colleges.

2. Effective distance.

Nearness of one area to another on a map does not of necessity indicate accessibility. Mountain or river barriers, poor roads, or inadequate bus or train service may make the effective distance between two points much greater than the mileage distance would indicate. The State maps give some general idea of the lines of communication by indicating trade centers and trade areas. Any institution may make a more detailed study of its accessibility to various towns or counties by a study of the railroad and bus schedules, and the detailed road maps of the area. The question should not be "how many miles?" but "how many travel hours?" is a given town from the college.

3. The location, quality, and types of curricula of high schools for Negroes.

Since only high-school graduates are potential college material, an effective determination of the potential service area of any institution should include a study of the Negro high schools. A given county may have a large Negro population but the absence of good 4-year high schools may serve to reduce the potential college population to a minimum. Whether colleges serving such areas should provide secondary school facilities is a debatable question. The increase in public high schools for Negroes, if continued, should take care of this aspect of the problem in a relatively short time. In any case, the college should know the location and standing of each high school within its geographical area of service.

4. The social, economic, and educational level of the Negro population.

In many areas the social, economic, and educational level of the Negro population is such that higher education is not regarded as important by most families, or poverty may make it impossible for any large number of young people to attend college. The county analyses show that such factors as the county type, the Plane of Living Index, the degree of urbanization, and the proportion Negroes are of the population all affect the proportion of Negroes of college age in college. Furthermore, a study of the tables based on the location of Negro colleges (tables E 1 to E 15) suggest that the possibility of living at home is an important factor in college attendance. A study of these various factors in relation to the area in which the college is located will give light on the potential college material in the counties which might be expected to fall within any institution's geographical area of service.

5. The type of institution and its ability to serve a given area.

The geographical area which an institution should attempt to serve depends in some measure on the type of institution and the nature of its program. A State college or university, a denominational college, or a municipal college may each have a definite area of service predetermined by its charter or the nature of its control. Other institutions may be designed or equipped to serve a particular area, or a given clientele, or to offer a given type of service. In some cases the institution may need to

redefine its objectives or even change its type, but in any case its geographic area cannot be properly determined without consideration of the institution's type and the service it is prepared to offer. For suggestions for defining the type of institution see section D.

6. The resources of the institution, actual or potential.

The area which an institution may serve effectively is determined in part by its financial resources, actual or potential. Where the amount of such resources is fixed the institution may find it necessary to limit its geographical area even though an expanded area of service might be desirable. On the other hand, an institution which has adjacent unserved areas should consider, among other factors, whether there are not potential sources of support which might enable it to enlarge its area of service.

7. The presence or absence of other higher educational institutions.

The presence or absence of other institutions does not of necessity limit or extend the geographical area which any given institution should serve, but other institutions or the lack of them are important factors to be considered in determining the area the college should attempt to reach as well as in considering its institutional type and curricular organization. In some cases there may be too many institutions in a given area, or they may all be offering the same kind of program and hence competing rather than cooperating in serving the area. The problem is most adequately met by a joint consideration of the problems of the area, but whether or not such joint consideration is possible, any college which has neighboring institutions should consider their type and the nature of their curricular organization as factors affecting its own program. Cooperative planning in terms of regional needs may enable each institution to develop more effectively its own program, whereas competition among institutions not only reduces the effectiveness of each, but may leave unserved either geographical areas or certain basic needs of the total area. (The locations and types of the various higher educational institutions for Negroes may be observed on the State maps in ch. V. See also ch. VI.)

Where there are several institutions in a given area consideration should be given to such procedures as the following, now practiced in some areas:

- (a) Cooperative planning to eliminate duplication of services, and to reach unserved areas or groups.
- (b) A joint consideration of the needs of the region with each institution accepting responsibility for some special service.
- (c) Coordination of services, e. g., joint library service, interchangeable credits.

D. Defining the Type of Institution

While the type of institution is one of the factors to be considered in determining the geographical area which can be served effectively, a more detailed analysis of the college's function as a given type of institution is desirable. The following questions will aid in such an analysis.

- I. Is the institution organized as a junior college, a 4-year college, or a university? In the light of its geographical area of service, its equipment, its support, and the presence or absence of neighboring institutions, should the question of its organization be reconsidered? That is, could it render more effective service if organized on another basis, and is such reorganization possible?

For example, there may be junior colleges which should become 4-year institutions. On the other hand, a 4-year institution might render more adequate and effective service by concentrating all its resources on a good junior college.

One of the greatest weaknesses of the Negro colleges lies in

the number of institutions which are attempting to do more than their administrative or financial resources enable them to do effectively.

- II. Is the Institution publicly or privately controlled, and does such control involve specific commitments as to organization or policy? If so, these commitments become factors which must be considered in any plans which the college may make.
- III. Is the institution planned as a university or a liberal arts, vocational, or teachers college? In the light of the various questions previously raised, and of the nature of its clientele, should this question be reconsidered?

E. What Is the Socio-Economic Background of the Institution's Clientele, Actual or Potential?

There are four major factors in the socio-economic background of Negro students. These four are—

Social and economic conditions of the South.

Conditions in the area in which the institution is located or from which it draws most of its students.

The social, economic, and educational level of the institution's clientele.

Factors inherent in or incident to the Negro's minority group status.

There is considerable overlapping in these various factors, and consideration of any one of them involves the others to some extent. However, as a matter of convenience, the suggestions for studying the problems of socio-economic background are organized around these four factors in the order named.

I. Social and Economic Conditions of the South.

Whether the college serves a local, State, or national area it is a part of the region in which it is located. To be functional, any southern college, whether serving a white or a Negro clientele, should be aware of the basic problems of the South as a whole. The major problems of the region call for a trained leadership and an economically and socially intelligent population. The colleges and universities of the South are the institutions which, for the most part, must train the leaders in various social, economic, and industrial fields and also the teachers who will be responsible for the education of the coming generation. (See ch. III, especially pp. 26-39.)

It should be noted that the problems considered in this section are problems of the total population and the suggestions made are applicable to institutions either for white or for Negro students.

1. Among the basic conditions of the South which affect the whole of life within the region are the following:
 - (a) A colonial economy.
 - (b) An extractive economy.
 - (c) An agricultural region.
 - (d) Special problems of cotton and tobacco.
 - (e) The tenancy system.
 - (f) Wasteful use of natural resources.
 - (g) Lack of technological development.
 - (h) Failure to develop farming as a way of life (e. g., ownership of land, raising of food, livestock, poultry, etc.).
2. Translated into terms of human welfare these conditions mean:
 - (a) Poverty.
 - (b) Insecurity.
 - (c) Mobility.
 - (d) Lack of initiative and responsibility.
 - (e) Poor housing.
 - (f) Dietary deficiency and disease.
 - (g) Lack of sanitation.

(h) Educational lacks.

(i) Cultural poverty.

3. These problems raise such questions as the following with respect to the function of the college in the South.

- (a) Has the institution considered regional problems in terms of a life related educational program?
- (b) Does the college plan its total program so that every graduate may leave the institution with an understanding of the basic problems of the region?
- (c) Were the agricultural pattern and the technological lag of the South considered in determining the specific aims and objectives of the institution?
- (d) Has the regional situation been taken into account in determining whether the college shall offer vocational training, and if so, in deciding the kind of training which shall be offered?
- (e) Has the college taken into account the proportion of its graduates who go into teaching and the type of training needed for teachers in the light of practical community situations in the South?
- (f) Does the institution know where its former students are teaching and hence the kind of communities and of teaching situations into which its present students may be expected to go as teachers?
- (g) Has the college considered major regional problems (e. g., agriculture, soil conservation, economic and technological needs) in determining its curricular offerings? Its faculty research program? Its extra classroom activities?
- (h) Has the college found some way by which its teachers and administrative officers may be made or kept aware of regional needs and conscious of the institution's responsibility with reference to such needs, e. g., faculty workshops, seminars or study groups; lectures; special reference shelf of materials; book reports; field trips; bulletins?

(For a list of sources useful for further study of Southern problems see sec. 1 of the References given at the end of this outline.)

II. Suggestions for Making a State or Local Area Analysis (ch. IV).

Whereas the basic problems of the South should be considered by all institutions within the region, there are wide variations in the specific social and economic conditions both from State to State and within States. In order to make possible either a State or local area analysis the county was chosen as the basic unit. By the use of a county type analysis (ch. IV), State maps and Summaries (ch. V) and tables run by counties and then summarized by States (see appendix C.) any county, group of counties, or State may be pictured in terms of needs and potentialities.

The basic factor in such an analysis is the fact that southern counties can be "typed" so that a given type of county indicates the probability that certain social, economic, and educational conditions will be found.

The county type is based on a three-way classification of 14 composite types which were determined by the basic economy, the amount of industrialization, and the degree of urbanization. This three-way typing of the 966 counties having 5 percent or more Negroes is as follows:

Economy:

Non-Farm.

Farm Other Than Cotton.

Cotton Farm.

Industrialization:

Non-Farm.

Industrial Farm.

Non-Industrial Farm.

Urbanization:

- Metropolitan (cities of 25,000 or over).
- Other Non-Farm (Non-Farm but not metropolitan).
- Farm City—(10,000 to 25,000).
- Farm Town—(2,500 to 10,000).
- Rural (under 2,500).

(A discussion of these County Types and their relationship to educational problems will be found in ch. IV. For the way in which the types were determined see Appendix B., Methodology, pp. 121-22.)

1. The classification of any county may be found by observing the three-way symbol for the county in the State map. (ch. V). The first figure indicates the economy, the middle letter the industrialization, and the last figure the urbanization.
2. By use of the State maps alone one may determine for any county the following information:
 - (a) The basic economy.
 - (b) The amount of industrialization.
 - (c) The size of the largest city.
 - (d) The number of Negroes in the county.
 - (e) The trade center used by the county.
 - (f) The trade area to which the county belongs.
 - (g) The quartile rank of the county with reference to the number of Negroes of college age in college.
 - (h) The location and type of each Negro college, i. e., whether public or private, whether 2-, 3-, or 4-year, and whether offering graduate work.

3. Having ascertained these significant facts regarding each county in the institution's area of service, the meaning of these factors may be determined more specifically by reference to the tables and the State Summaries. (See chs. IV and V and Appendix C.)

Accompanying each State map is a summary of relevant information about the State. In some cases the data are averages for the State; in other cases the figure given refers to the median county within the State. The State Summary Tables (S1 to S18) show the distribution of counties within each State with reference to 18 significant items. Any State may thus see the distribution of its own counties with reference to each item and it may compare its counties with those of other States.

While the relative standing of any given county cannot be ascertained from the tables, it is possible to compare the information about each county given in the State maps, with the information regarding the State as a whole.

A further detailed source of information about counties will be found in the *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties* by Charles S. Johnson and others. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1941. In this volume each county is listed with relevant social, economic, and educational information.

4. A more detailed study of the maps and tables should yield such information as the following:

- (a) The relation of the county type to such basic socio-economic factors as the Plane of Living Index, the proportion which Negroes are of the population, the percent Negroes are urban, and the percent of colored farm operators who are tenants (tables A1 to A10).
- (b) The relation of the county type and the social and economic factors mentioned above to educational indices such as the length of the school term, the per capita expenditure per pupil enrolled, the proportion of all school enrollment in high school, the percent of teachers with 2 or more years' college training, the average salary of high-school teachers, and the number of Negroes in college for each 1,000

Negroes of college age. (Tables A10 to A22.) For each of these items except the last, Negro-white ratios are given also. The distribution of counties within each State is given in the State Tables for each of the items (tables S1 to S18).

- (c) The possible influence of the presence of one or more Negro colleges on the elementary and secondary school opportunity of Negro children.

One set of the tables (E1 to E15) calls for particular attention, i. e., the set in which counties are grouped as follows:

Class I. Counties having two or more Negro colleges.

II. Counties having one Negro college.

III. Counties having no Negro college in the county but one or more in an adjacent county.

IV. Counties having no Negro college either in the county or in an adjacent county.

Any college seriously concerned with relating its program to the life of the clientele it serves will see the implications of the fact that the presence of one or more Negro colleges seems generally to have had little or no effect on the elementary and secondary school opportunities of Negroes within the county in which the college or colleges are located. (See ch. IV, pp. 61-63, and tables E1 to E15.)

5. In addition to the information previously suggested about the State, and counties within the State, a more detailed study should be made of certain basic problems within the institution's area of service, for example:

- (a) Which of the basic southern problems previously listed, such as the one-crop system, tenancy, wasteful land use, etc., are present in the area? Are such problems especially acute in the area?
- (b) What light does the types of basic economy of the counties in the area (e. g., non-farm, farm other than cotton, or cotton farm) throw on the major economic problems of the people?
- (c) If the college is located in a metropolitan county does it draw students from surrounding farm counties? If so, does the institution take into account the varied nature of its area of service?
- (d) What do the basic economy, degrees of industrialization and urbanization of the counties served by the college indicate in terms of economic level and occupational opportunity? Are such factors taken into account in the program of the institution?
- (e) What is the educational level of the counties served as indicated by the number of high schools (white and Negro) in proportion to the population of high-school age? By the presence of other colleges (also white and Negro) within the area?
- (f) What does the institution conceive its responsibility to be to the community—or area—in which it is located? e. g., in terms of such services as adult education, extension service, civic betterment, inter-racial cooperation and understanding? In what ways does the institution attempt to meet such responsibilities?

For a list of sources useful in making a State or local area analysis see section 2 of the References given at the end of this outline.

III. Suggestions for Studying the Social and Economic Level of the Institution's Clientele. (See Chs. II and III.)

A study of the region alone is not sufficient to indicate the needs of the students which the institution reaches. Within the same region one institution may draw its students from relatively well-to-do homes while a neighboring college may find that most of

its students come from families on a lower economic level. This factor is particularly important to the Negro college in that in certain areas a large proportion of Negroes may be on the lower economic levels even though the region itself be relatively prosperous. It is recognized that the Negro's minority group status can and does affect the economic level of the colored population through such means as occupational limitation. However, for purposes of analysis, the factor of minority group status is considered in a later section.

An analysis of the socio-economic level of the institutions clientele may be approached first from the standpoint of the position of Negroes in the area, and then from the standpoint of the actual student body.

1. The social and economic position of Negroes within the area.

The percentage and Negro farm operators who are tenants, and the percent of the total gainfully employed Negroes in the major occupational classes are given by States in the State Summaries (ch. V). Analyses by counties for the 1920-30 period appear in the U. S. Census Volume—*Negroes in the United States*; and figures from the 1940 Census will be available later.

Some of the social and economic handicaps which Negroes suffer in many areas of the South are suggested in chapter III, pp. 39-45., and chapter VI, pp. 106-8.

Some of the questions to be raised regarding Negroes in the area served are the following:

- (a) Are Negroes in the area served predominantly urban or rural? Is the situation changing?
- (b) What proportion of Negroes in the area are farmers, and of the farm operators what percentage are tenants? What trends are observable?
- (c) What are the major occupations open to Negroes, and what are the average wages paid in such occupations? What trends are observable in occupational opportunity?
- (d) To what extent has there developed a Negro business and professional class? Is this class growing?
- (e) What proportion of the Negro women are gainfully employed?
- (f) What is the nature of the elementary and secondary school opportunity open to Negroes? Is the quality of the Negro schools in general so poor as to necessitate adjustments of some kind by the college?
- (g) Is the economic level of the Negro population as a whole such as to suggest the necessity of major adjustments on the part of the college? e. g., large numbers of work scholarships, tuition aid, and other means of adjustment to the situation.
- (h) Is the cultural poverty of the Negroes so acute as to suggest unusual measures to provide experiences which the home might be expected to care for in more favored areas?
- (i) Are the occupational limitations such as to suggest that special consideration be given to vocational needs and adjustment?

2. The social, economic and education level of the student body.

If the student body is not a specially selected group, that is, if the college is the only one in the area or if its appeal is not limited to a specific group of the potential students in the area, a study of the social and economic background of the student body will be significant not only in terms of the actual student personnel but will likewise represent a fair cross section of the Negro families from which students may be expected to come.

The detailed personal record of each student is of importance in two different ways. It is useful in the same way that all such records are useful, i. e., in helping the institution meet the

needs of the individual student. In terms of understanding the nature of its clientele and the general type of service it should render, the personal records must be analyzed and classified in order to answer such questions as the following:

- (a) What is the occupational distribution of the parents, and how does this compare with the occupational distribution of Negroes throughout the State, or Service Area?
- (b) What is the socio-economic distribution of the parents? The census occupational classes do not reveal the socio-economic class, i. e., one's occupation may be manufacturing but one may be a manager, a clerk, a skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled worker. The socio-economic class is thus more important in showing the kind of background the student has than is the broader occupational class. Probably the most useful classification of this kind is *A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers in the United States* by Alba Edwards. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1930.

The major groupings given are—

- (1) Professional persons.
- (2) Proprietors, managers, officials:
 - (a) Farmers (owners and tenants).
 - (b) Wholesale and retail dealers.
 - (c) Other proprietors, managers, and officials.
- (3) Clerks and kindred workers.
- (4) Skilled workers and foremen.
- (5) Semi-skilled workers.
- (6) Unskilled workers.
 - (a) Farm laborers.
 - (b) Factory and building construction laborers.
 - (c) Other laborers.
 - (d) Servants.

(The volume in which this classification appears gives a further breakdown of each group. The entire volume will repay a careful study by those responsible for studying the occupational background of Negro families, as it gives detailed information regarding the age, sex, race, and occupational levels of workers in various industries.)

- (c) What is the median family income and what is the percentage of students whose family income falls into different intervals? e. g., under \$500, from \$500 to \$1,000, etc.
- (d) In what percent of the families does the mother work?
- (e) What percent of families own their homes? What is the average rental of homes not owned?
- (f) What percentage of the families own automobiles? telephones? radios? pianos?
- (g) In how many homes are one or more national magazines taken? Daily papers? How many books owned? How many books have students read (aside from school books)?
- (h) If the family lived in a rural community or small town did they have a garden? a cow? chickens? fruit trees?
- (i) Was canning and preserving done at home?
- (j) What type of school attended in elementary grades? High school? e. g., How many rooms? Teachers? How long the term? How many high-school teachers had 2 or more years college? Was there a library? Laboratory equipment?
- (k) What church attended? How many rooms? Size of membership? Nature of religious education program? Education of the pastor?

3. Such information about the students can throw a great deal of light on the personal background and individual needs of students. When properly classified and analyzed, this type of information can also give a picture of the

type of life Negroes in the region live and will aid the institution in relating its program to the needs and problems of the people it serves. To be concrete, suppose the institution finds that the majority of its students:

- (a) Come from rural areas or small towns.
 - (b) That their families have incomes that are too low for adequate living.
 - (c) That their families have not supplemented their diets or their incomes by such means as gardening, canning, dairying, or poultry raising.
 - (d) That the elementary and secondary schools attended were inadequate.
 - (e) That their families seldom had books, magazines or musical instruments.
 - (f) That the churches and church leadership in their communities had not been such as to provide spiritual guidance and enrichment or to develop a spirit of purposeful community service.
4. These facts would immediately raise questions as to the ways in which the college might provide those activities and experiences which would (a) help the students overcome the deficiencies due to the inadequacies of their previous training and experience, and (b) help prepare them to create better ways of living in the communities to which they go.

For example, the institution might meet some of these problems in such ways as the following:

- (a) By a supervised program of gardening, fruit raising, dairying, poultry raising, and canning in which institutional needs would be supplied, and training given through work scholarships or paid student labor. In such a program these activities would not be vocational training as such but a means of helping students discover one of the major ways of meeting Southern poverty, dietary deficiency, and general emptiness of life at home.

One of the most striking factors in the Southern picture is the fact that the part of the country with the longest growing season not only imports quantities of fruits, vegetables, dairy, and poultry products, but is one of the major problem areas with reference to dietary deficiency. It is also the region in which farming for millions of people has ceased to be a way of life in which all the family participates and in which purposeful family activity gives to rural life much of its point and meaning. (See ch. III, pp. 26-39.)

If every small town and rural family of low income followed such a home program, and if every small town and rural teacher were interested and knew how to inspire and lead such programs in his or her community, some of the basic Southern needs could be met with almost no outside help. Life would be better not only from a material and physical standpoint but likewise more purposeful and interesting.

- (b) By providing remedial courses and activities to help overcome the handicaps of inferior elementary and secondary schools.
- (c) By providing a leisure time program designed to stimulate interest in current affairs, good reading, music, and other broadening and enriching activities.
- (d) By a religious education program so planned that the student would receive help and enrichment in his own life and at the same time develop the ability and interest to help carry forward such a program in whatever community he may live.

(Sources for use in studying the social and economic level of the institution's clientele will be found under sec. 3 of References at the end of this outline.)

IV. Factors Inherent in or Incident to the Negro's Minority Group Status. (See ch. III, pp. 39-43 and ch. VI, pp. 103-6.)

Many of the Negro's economic and cultural limitations are due to the same causes which underlie similar limitations of large sections of the white population. However, in addition to these problems—and often accentuating them—the Negro has many other problems growing out of his minority group status.

The Negro's minority group position affects him in at least five major ways. (See ch. III, pp. 39 ff.)

- It restricts his economic and occupational opportunity.
- It limits his educational opportunity.
- It either excludes him from other civic benefits or cultural opportunities or permits him only an inferior sort.
- It places drastic restrictions upon his social mobility.
- It places upon him the inhibiting stigma of inferiority.

These major limitations place upon the college for Negroes special responsibilities in meeting the needs of its clientele. Confronted with a dual world in which his own people play a subordinate role the Negro youth needs special help in making a personally satisfying adjustment. Such an adjustment involves a philosophy of life and inner resources which serve as bulwarks against frustration and defeat.

In attempting to meet these needs the college for Negroes may consider the following:

1. The problem of economic status and vocational opportunity.

This factor is closely allied with many of the problems discussed under section III of this outline. Basic questions are:

- (a) In the light of the institution's geographical area of service, its control, and the nature of its clientele, should vocational courses be offered? If so, for which vocations?
- (b) Whether or not the institution conceives of itself as a vocational college should there be an attempt to help the students learn ways in which they may improve their economic standing? (See sec. III of this outline.)
- (c) Does the institution help students discover their own vocational aptitudes?
- (d) Does the institution help the students understand the economic and social order of which they are a part and the historical, sociological, and economic factors underlying their own disadvantaged position to the end that while striving for improvement, students may avoid bitterness and frustration.
- (e) If vocational training is offered does it take account of changing technological factors, the need for flexible skills, and the possibility that occupations now closed to Negroes may open in the future?
- (f) Does the institution help students to be realistic in terms of occupational choice, e. g., the Maryland Youth Commission found that both white and Negro youth tended to visualize themselves in white collar or professional jobs though there was little likelihood that many of them would ever be able to fill such jobs.

2. Limitations of educational opportunity.

Most colleges for Negroes draw their students from areas in which elementary and secondary schools are below the average. By means of various standard tests it is possible for any institution to appraise the quality of the students' previous training. Among the procedures which some institutions have found useful are the following:

- (a) Further training in basic tool subjects and skills. Students who come from poor schools may need special help in reading, spelling, mathematics, and in

study habits, the use of the dictionary and encyclopedia, the use of a library. Most institutions need to give some help to freshmen along such lines. The poor equipment and short term of many Negro schools may make necessary a subfreshman training period for those students whose previous school program has been too inadequate to permit them to meet the usual standards of admittance.

- (b) Special help for those who may be able to enter the freshman class but who need guidance or assistance because of previous limitations, e. g., in laboratory work, in composition, or in any other such area.

3. Limitation of civic benefits and cultural opportunity.

Most Negro colleges are located in areas in which there are definite limitations on the civic responsibilities and cultural opportunities of Negroes. The college for Negroes has a special responsibility in this area.

- (a) Does the institution provide a maximum of personally enriching opportunities and experiences through its classroom program, its community organization, or its leisure time activities? For example—

- (1) Does the college athletic program center in intercollegiate athletics or is there a well-rounded outdoor recreation program for all students?
- (2) Does the college give its major attention to a chorus or glee club, or is there an opportunity for all students to discover the enrichment of music through music appreciation groups, Sunday evening record concerts, lectures and group listening to opera by radio, and other such means?
- (3) Is there opportunity for enrichment and self-expression through community singing and dramatics?
- (4) Do the students have access to books and magazines and do they have guidance in reading for pleasure? Are students encouraged to form small poetry or drama groups for reading aloud, or reading circles for discussing any type of book which they may choose to read for pleasure or enrichment?
- (5) Are students made aware of the enriching and satisfying hours that can be spent in such interests as amateur astronomy, identifying and classifying local trees, flowers, or rocks? Have they discovered the pleasure and profit in handicrafts?

Not all students will find interest in the same fields, but a varied program of leisure time activities will open doors to personal enrichment that may more than outweigh some of the cultural limitations which many students will encounter in their home communities.

- (b) Is the dormitory supervision of such nature as to help the students develop habits of neatness and order, appreciation for beauty in one's surroundings, and ingenuity in providing an attractive setting with a minimum of cost and equipment?
- (c) Is meal time made a pleasant and gracious occasion by attention to the surroundings and service and by the use of student hosts and hostesses at each table?
- (d) Are the students given an opportunity to learn community participation and civic responsibility by the college's making itself a part of the community life rather than an institution apart?
- (e) Are the students given the opportunity to develop a democratic attitude and familiarity with democratic procedures by the college's making its own administration democratic, i. e., by striving for an

institutional set-up in which administration, faculty and students will all cooperate?

4. Restrictions on social mobility.

One of the major problems faced by the Negro student is that of his adjustment to a biracial world, and the restrictions placed upon him by the segregation pattern. The student's reaction to such restrictions may take the form of bitterness, frustration, defeat, servility, or aggression. The college may help in this problem of adjustment by such means as the following:

- (a) Through helping the student understand the historical, sociological and economic framework of American race relations. (See ch. II.)
- (b) By helping the student see his own group relations objectively through comparative studies of other minority groups.
- (c) Through classroom teaching, lectures, and counseling by which students are helped to understand their own personal problems, both as persons and as Negroes.
- (d) By helping students to learn how personality develops and the effect of class and caste position in the formation of character and personality.
- (e) By helping students learn to think clearly and to distinguish between means and ends.
- (f) By helping students think through the problems of the Negro's ultimate position in the American social order and to get some conception of effective means, direct or indirect, toward the desired ends. (See ch. VI.)
- (g) By making students aware of the use of minority group techniques (e. g. cooperatives, unions, group action) while at the same time helping them see ways in which they can contribute to the common good as persons rather than Negroes.
- (h) By providing opportunity for interracial contact for discussion of common problems and the promotion of understanding.
- (i) By helping students find for themselves a philosophy of life or a religious faith which will enable them to subordinate personal interest to the common good; maintain personal integrity and self-respect in the face of difficult conditions; and to work creatively and constructively toward changing undesirable conditions.

5. The stigma of inferiority.

One of the major handicaps of Negro youth lies in the constant assumption of inferiority, an assumption that is reinforced by the limitations placed upon the Negro's participation in community and national life. An important factor in wholesome personality adjustment is help in facing the stigma of inferiority. The college may help students in this problem through such ways as the following:

- (a) By teaching the scientific facts regarding race, e. g. the difference in race as a biological and sociological concept; the origins of notions of racial inferiority; the widespread occurrence of slavery among different races; and the historical association of slavery and race in America.
- (b) By teaching the history of the Negro peoples in Africa and America, and picturing fairly their contribution to our common life.
- (c) By teaching the history of civilization and other comparative studies which help students to become objective about western culture.
- (d) By helping students understand the way in which standards of beauty and worth are culturally created.

- (e) By helping students develop inner resources, skills, and personal mastery as weapons against the inhibiting effects of the stigma of inferiority.

(Sources for study of the problems of minority group status will be found in sec. 3 of the References at the end of this outline.)

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Appendix B. Methodology

Statement of Problem

WHILE THIS study of the socio-economic status of Negroes is designed to serve a practical end, it aims also to be of value to persons interested in the wider problem of social theory. Moreover, both its practical and its theoretical value will be increased if the material presented can take its place as a part of the organized body of knowledge which social scientists are seeking to build.

The practical assignment was that of furnishing a socio-economic background which would be of value in determining fundamental policies in the higher education of Negroes. The problem as analyzed appeared to be (1) to explain historically and sociologically the origin and nature of our present dual or bi-racial social structure; (2) to make a general analysis of the region in which the policy of separate schools makes the education of Negroes a special problem; and (3) to find some way by which a more detailed analysis could be made and the various types of social structure correlated with factors which are indicative of the status of Negroes, and of the attitudes and habits of the dominant group which is in economic, social, and political control.

In other words, the socio-economic aspect of the survey should answer the questions: (1) How did this dual structure come to be? (2) What is its nature? (3) What are the regional patterns, folkways, and mores that tend to hold the dual structure in its present form? (4) In what way can a more detailed analysis be made that will show (a) variations of structure within States and regions, and (b) whether these structural variations are correlated with factors which indicate the status of Negroes in the region, and which are, therefore, of both practical and theoretical interest?

The problem of orientation and background has been handled through a historical summary and a comparative analysis of group relations of which American race relations are considered a special form (ch. II).

The area of separate schools is then presented (ch. III), not as the solid South, but as a series of inter-related sub-regions. The basis for such a regional study was laid in Howard Odum's *Southern Regions* in which he redefines the South in terms of various significant indices. On the basis of these indices Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia are placed in the Northeast region, while Texas and Oklahoma are included with Arizona and New Mexico as the Southwest. This leaves the 11 States of the "deep South" as the Southeast.

Odum's definition is a valuable one for this study in that the region defined as the Southeast is a relatively homogeneous one, and these States, with some exceptions in the case of Florida, have many things in common. One of their most striking characteristics is the rigidity of the dual structure of society and of the dominance-subordination pattern which defines the relations of the white and Negro groups.

On the other hand, even a State is by no means a homogeneous region. A State represents, in a way, a generalization that is valid only for some purposes. There are many kinds of areas within a State and the State indices represent an average for a politically defined area in which there may exist extreme economic, educational, and cultural variations.

In seeking to make a structural analysis more detailed than that of the region or the State, the county was chosen as the smallest unit for which census data are available. The county is a relatively homogeneous area and it is an important administrative unit both for school funds and for other purposes. The details of the statistical analysis of 966 southern counties appears in a later section. The significance of the analysis will be more apparent if there is first presented the theoretical framework within which the analysis is made. A discussion of this framework constitutes the section which follows.

Social Structure, Race Attitudes, and the Status of Negroes¹

A social group may be said to exist when there is between two or more individuals an adjustment of interests;² that is, when each modifies his behavior in terms of the other's interest. Such an adjustment of interests constitutes the reciprocal which we call a social relation.

A social group may be large or small, organized or unorganized, highly self-conscious or only moderately so, loosely or closely integrated. Thus a family is a small, closely integrated but unorganized social group. A civic club is usually an organized but loosely integrated social group. A society is a complex and relatively stable social group. Communities, states, and nations are territorially delimited social groups.

The system of social relations by which a group is defined may be made up of primary relations (personal and face to face), or the relations may be secondary and

¹ The author is indebted to Prof. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, formerly of the University of Chicago, now of Oxford University, England, for assistance in developing this analysis.

² An interest is defined as any purposive behavior, positive or negative.

indirect. The system may, of course, include both primary and secondary groups. Social relations thus include not only personal relations, but also economic, political, and commercial relations.

A social group may be regarded as being as inclusive as its field of communication, that is, the extent to which there is an adjustment of interests among its constituent units. In this sense our modern world is a social group, as it is an intercommunicating unit. However, within any large group it is possible to define smaller divisions in terms of specific interest adjustments. The size and composition of such units depend on the factors which give to each its unity. Thus the world is divided into areas which have political unity and these units have diplomatic as well as economic and commercial relations one with another.

This conception of groups as component units of larger groups is useful rather than confusing if the notion of social relationships as the basis of all social grouping is kept in mind. On the basis of this definition of a social group it is possible to abstract from any total group the various constituent units whose relationships involve specific interest adjustments.

Thus an individual may belong to any number of different groups, his being a member of each by virtue of the adjustment of specific interests with the other members of that particular group. A man may be a member of the Smith family, a faithful Presbyterian, a good Mason, an active Democrat, a proud citizen of his home town, an enthusiastic Texan, and a patriotic American. He can belong to all these groups because they are integrated on the basis of different sets of adjusted interests which do not interfere one with the other. He could not in the same way be both a Presbyterian and a Baptist, a Democrat and a Republican, a Mason and a Knight of Columbus. In each case the group is defined on the basis of the factors that give it unity, that is, in terms of the particular system of adjusted interests that bind the members of the group together and at the same time set them apart from other groups.

A social group can function as a group in relation to individuals, or to other groups, to the extent that its members have a conception of themselves as a unit and are so conceived by others. Thus a family is a social group in that it is composed of individuals who are in social relations, that is, relations of adjusted interests one with another. The members of the family may, as individuals, have social relations with other individuals and groups, but as the family conceives of itself as a group it may have social relations, as a family, with other individuals as well as with other groups.

Every social group, however large or small, has a structure which is the net work of relations between the constituent units of the group. Thus the structure of a society is the network of relations between the unit entities—individuals and groups of individuals—

which are the constituent units of the total group.

It is perhaps necessary to distinguish between the society which at any given moment is made up of individuals and groups which are in actual social relations and the form or type of the society which persists as a continuum. If we think of any specific group at a given time, the actual network of relations is constantly changing. But while the specific individuals and their specific relations change from day to day, the general pattern or form of relations, especially those of basic groups such as the family, or organized groups, such as churches, change slowly. Likewise in a complex and relatively permanent group such as a society, or a group with locus such as a community, the whole network of relations forms a configuration which actually exists only momentarily, but the type or form of that configuration remains relatively stable. For practical purposes, therefore, the structure and the structural type of stable groups mean the same thing.

Individuals have positions in the structure of the society with reference both to other individuals and to groups. Likewise groups have positions with reference to other groups and also with reference to individuals. Thus both individuals and families have positions in a given community with reference to other individuals and families. And in any family the members occupy positions with reference to the other members of the family, for example husband and wife, parent and child, or brother and sister.

These positions involve status. For the purposes of this study status is used primarily to signify relative position. Thus fathers as a class may have higher status than men who are not fathers, just as ministers may have a higher status than laborers. Fathers as such form a class (constituted by logical relations) and not a group (constituted by social relations). Likewise ministers, lawyers, and doctors form professional classes not groups unless they are in the same community or are organized (e. g. the American Medical Association) in which case the members of the organization then have social relations one with another. Since fathers as such constitute a class (not a group), they do not have status with reference to one another.

Within a given society (or community) certain groups may have higher status than other groups, and within any group the particular individuals have a status relative to one another. Thus within almost any community in the United States Negroes as a group have lower status than the white group.³ They have group status because Negroes as a group have social relations both with white individuals and with the white group as a whole. Yet within their own group Negroes have status with reference to one another.

³ Ralph Linton in *The Study of Man*, p. 115, distinguishes between ascribed status and achieved status, i. e. an ascribed status is one determined at birth by sex, race, class, etc. The socialization of an individual is determined in part by his ascribed status, e. g. boys and girls receive different types of training. In our society the Negro has an ascribed status which is inferior to that of white persons.

A particular status is defined in terms of specific rights and duties. Thus the status of a father carries certain rights in the family, but it also implies certain duties with respect to the family. Citizenship in a given state or nation is defined by the rights and duties of citizens. And just as an individual may be a member of many groups he likewise has many statuses. Thus his position in the society may be said to be the sum total of his statuses. But as any status of an individual is always with reference to the status of some other individual or group with whom he has social relations we can also say that his position is defined by the total of his social relations.

A set of relatively stable social relations involves a corresponding set of social usages which are the appropriate ways of thinking, feeling, and acting in a given relation. The relations are expressed through the social usages, and, on the other hand, the usages may be said to define the relations. Thus the relation of parent and child is defined by the way parents and children are supposed to feel and act toward one another.

On the one hand the social usages are covert, that is, they include sentiments and attitudes or the ways of thinking and feeling regarded as appropriate in specific situations. On the other hand, they include all the patterns of overt behavior which the society demands in given relations. For example, the traditional attitude toward white people which Negroes were expected to have was a composite of dependence, deference, and respect. A whole set of overt behavior patterns corresponded to, as well as expressed, this attitude. Thus the Negro must address a white person respectfully, stand in the presence of white people, and approach any white person with hat in hand. The corresponding attitude of white persons was one of both dominance and familiarity. This attitude was expressed in the treatment of all Negroes as actual or potential servants, and the use of the Negro's first name.⁴

Thus the social usages of any society may be said to consist of both a value system and a body of customary behavior. The value system may be thought of as a complex of beliefs, sentiments, and attitudes of which the overt behavior is an expression. On the other hand the behavior is rationalized and justified by the body of beliefs. In a stable society there is to be expected a fairly high degree of functional consistency of the beliefs, sentiments, and attitudes with the overt behavior, and of both the value system and the overt usages with the structure. This does not mean that any of these factors is necessarily the cause of the other but that in the elaboration of a social system these things are so interrelated that they may be expected to work together.

Some social usages are only folkways or customs

without moral connotation, such as our forms of greeting. When folkways take on moral qualities, such as our marriage or religious customs have, they are known as mores. Mores are social usages which are regarded not only as proper but as "right." Within our dual social structure the segregation pattern has this moral quality, at least in the eyes of the dominant group.

Perhaps it should be pointed out that while a social usage is an accepted way for a given person or group to behave, not all members of the society will recognize the behavior as appropriate and not all who recognize the appropriateness of the usages will observe them. Even in a primitive society there is a difference in the way people say one ought to behave and the way all persons do behave. In a complex society such as ours, the conception of the proper usage for any given relationship will vary somewhat with different groups. For example, the relationship of different members of the family and the usages considered appropriate in their behavior one with another, fall into a general pattern in our society. There are, however, variations in the patterns in different social and economic classes, and there are, of course, individual variations both in the recognition and the observance of socially approved usages.

It is important, however, that there be a fairly high degree of recognition and observance of the usages of a society or its solidarity cannot be maintained. When there is a class or caste structure the stability of the total structure can be maintained only when all or most of the society regard the relative positions of the classes or other groups as proper and right. For example, the slave system in America was secure only so long as most of the slaves as well as the masters regarded their relative positions as right or at least inevitable. When the slave saw free Negroes about, or when he learned to read he was likely to question the appropriateness of his subordinate position. Hence the drastic restrictions in the slave States which forbade the freeing of slaves or teaching them to read.

It is important to note that the society judges its members by how well they fit into their respective positions, that is, how well they observe the usages regarded as appropriate to the particular positions they occupy. Thus a woman may be severely criticized for conduct which may be approved in a man. When Negroes are said to be "all right in their place," the implication is that there are special usages appropriate to the subordinate status ascribed to Negroes.⁵ All the force of custom and tradition bears down upon the individual to mold him to the type regarded as appropriate.

If the specific problem of the present study is brought into the framework of this analysis, we find that the total society of the Southern States—and to an extent that of the whole United States—may be said to have a

⁴ For a discussion of these social usages see Bertram W. Doyle's *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South*.

⁵ For variations in the usages considered appropriate for Negroes see Charles S. Johnson's *Growing Up in the Black Belt*. p. 277, ff.

dual or bi-racial structure. That is, there is within the society a self-conscious and usually physically discernable group of people who occupy a special position within the total group, and usually within any given community of which they are a part. The position of Negroes is a group position in that they are conceptualized as a group and a Negro's status with reference to the whole society is not determined by the same criteria as is the status of white persons. Moreover, there is one set of criteria for status within the Negro group and another set for their status with reference to the white group.

In almost any community in America Negroes constitute, in a way, a little society of their own, and this society has a structure of its own. Likewise there is a sense in which the Negroes of the whole United States form a society of their own, for the group has its social, intellectual, and political leaders, its own press, and its own class system. Yet whether in a local community, or in any other area of the Nation, the Negroes are set within a dominant white group with which both individual Negroes and the total group of Negroes have social relations. These relations are rigidly controlled by prescribed rights and duties which are quite different from the rights and duties of Negroes with reference to other Negroes or those of white persons with reference to others of their own racial group. These rights and duties are consistent with the value system of the society as well as with its dual structure.

White persons may establish personal relations with individual Negroes but such relations must always be within the framework of a prescribed pattern. The structure of our society, particularly in the region of heaviest Negro population, is still a dual one in which Negroes generally are supposed to be inferior to white persons. One of the duties most clearly prescribed for Negroes is the recognition of their inferior status through the observance of a collection of usages which may be summed up in the word deference. Negroes who are not willing to show this deference can protect themselves from the demands for its observance only by avoiding contact with white persons in those situations in which it is sure to be required.

The situation resembles a caste structure in that the dominance-subordination pattern is pronounced; there are taboos against intermarriage, eating together, and other forms of association or even of address which imply equality of status. The situation differs from a caste structure in that class differences comparable to those in the white society now exist within the Negro group, and occupational lines between the two groups are now less sharply drawn. The dual structure, even in the South, is at present an unstable one, since many Negroes have achieved personal qualities which make them superior in individual characteristics to many white persons. Moreover, modern technological and other changes have introduced new situations for which

there are no established usages. These are the new developments which Professor Odum designates as *technicways*. There is, for example, no easy way to carry the separate car regulations over into airplane travel. In these situations new patterns tend to develop and their lack of consistence with old usages tends to weaken the latter. The situation is definitely one of transition and as such is filled with contradictions.

Within the framework of this analysis it is possible to think of the structure of society in the United States, or in the South, or in any given region or area. There are, for example, certain types of relations between Negroes and white persons, and certain attitudes of the dominant toward the subordinate group, that exist in varying degrees throughout the country. There are, however, areas in which the dual aspect of the structural pattern is both more rigid and more extended than in other areas. We recognize this difference when we speak of the South and the North, though there is no consistent way of defining the two regions and no uniformity within either region however they may be defined.

The selection of the county as the basic unit for the statistical analysis now appears as one way of defining a territorially delimited social group. While a county may be made up of various communities that differ one from another, it is possible, without elaborate definition, to say that in urban counties there is a type of social structure different from that found in rural counties. Farm counties differ from non-farm counties, and industrially diversified counties differ from those in which there is no such diversification. It is clear that cotton culture—which predominates in over half the counties considered in this study—determines the activities of people to such an extent that a complex of habits, patterns and relationships grows up, and that this complex largely sets the whole round of life. For example, it is revealed that a rural cotton county in Alabama is likely to have much more in common with a similar county in Texas than have neighboring counties in either State when one is rural cotton and the other a non-farm urban county.

There are other factors which affect the social structure of a given county. For the purposes of this study emphasis is given to the basic economy, the presence or absence of industrialization, and the degree of urbanization. The Plane of Living Index (see p. 124) of a county, and the proportion which Negroes are of the population represent other important factors. All of these indices have significant bearing on the types of relationships within the county, and they particularly affect the position and opportunity of Negroes. Certain factors are found to hang together. For example, a rural cotton county is likely to have both a high rate of tenancy and a high proportion of Negroes.

One of the basic questions underlying this study is whether there are definite correlations of social structure with the attitudes of the dominant group (its value

system) as expressed in such overt behavior as the distribution of school funds. The educational indices are particularly good ones to use as evidence of the attitude of white persons because white people control the educational system, set its standards, appoint the teachers, and dispense the funds. Moreover the educational system throughout the South is a dual one so that white and Negro children are in separate schools and the white officials determine the proportion of the available funds each group shall have. When a county spends five times as much for the education of each white child as it spends for the education of each Negro child, this fact may be considered a tangible and measurable expression of the prevailing attitude of the dominant group with reference to the relative value of white and Negro children. Equality of educational opportunity is inconsistent with a relationship of dominance and subordination.

When it is found that the median per capita expenditure for Negro school children in cotton counties is about half that of neighboring non-farm counties, and about two-thirds that of farm counties other than cotton, we can say that a Negro child's opportunity varies with the type of county in which he lives. These variations, however, may be, in large measure, expressions of differences in financial ability of the different types of county. The expenditures for white children are known to vary in like manner though not necessarily in the same degree.

In terms of the attitudes of white persons and of the relations between the two groups, the important fact is the relative opportunity of white and Negro children in the same administrative unit. There is the same kind of significant correlation between the type of county and the ratio of per capita expenditure for white and Negro pupils, the ratio of the length of term for white and Negro schools, and the ratio of white and Negro teachers' salaries. These correlations are indications of differences not so much in financial ability as in the relative value which white persons place on the educational opportunity of white and of Negro children. Inferior goods and services are usages by which the Negro's subordinate status is both expressed and maintained. The ratio of school expenditure for white and Negro children in any county is one of those social usages by which the relations of the two groups may be defined.

County Analysis

The use of the county as the unit in this analysis was made possible by the preliminary work done by Prof. Charles S. Johnson and others under a grant from the Rosenwald Fund. Johnson's material, published as *A Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties*, includes an analysis of 1,104 counties in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee,

Texas, and Virginia. With the exception of Texas all the counties in each State were included in the analysis. In Texas only the 104 counties in the eastern half of the State were used.

This classification divided the agricultural counties into five major crop types. For certain counties, however, the agricultural type was not the most significant factor. Counties in which fewer than one-fourth of the gainfully employed males were engaged in agriculture and counties in which there were cities of 25,000 or more population were classified as predominantly non-farm. Two Florida counties, Collier and Hendry, could not be classified by type. When classified in this way the 1,104 counties were distributed as follows:

Crop type:	Number of counties	Percent
A. Cotton-----	551	49.9
B. Crop specialty-----	167	15.1
C. Self-sufficiency-----	139	12.6
D. Grain—livestock—dairying-----	94	8.5
E. Vegetable—fruit-----	38	3.4
I. Predominantly non-farm-----	113	10.2
X. Unclassified-----	2	.2

The principal type of farming defines the dominant characteristic of rural organization but does not reveal the complexity of rural life. The counties were, therefore, grouped on the basis of diversification into four sub-types as follows:

0. Unclassified (includes predominantly non-farm).
1. One dominant crop system.
2. Dual system of major crops.
3. Multiple crop system.

A third factor of importance is the degree of industrialization and urbanization. For this dual classification the 1,104 counties were grouped as follows:

Type	Number	Percent
1. Metropolitan city (population 100,000 or more)-----	18	1.6
2. Small metropolis (population 50,000–100,000)-----	20	1.8
3. Small city (population 25,000–50,000)-----	26	2.4
4. Large town (population 10,000–25,000)-----	92	8.3
5. Small town—Industrial (population 2,500–10,000, with retail trade center or 10 percent gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing)-----	225	20.4
6. Small town—Nonindustrial (population 2,500–10,000, no retail trade center and less than 10 percent gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing)-----	147	13.3
7. Rural industrial (no town of 2,500 or more, but a retail trade center or 10 percent of gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing)-----	138	12.5
8. Rural nonindustrial (no town of 2,500, no trade center, and less than 10 percent of gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing)-----	438	39.7

This analysis gave the following threefold classification:

Major crop type	Crop sub-type	Urban industrial type
A. Cotton.	0. Unclassified.	1. Metropolitan city.
B. Crop-specialty.	1. One dominant crop system.	2. Small metropolis.
C. Self-sufficiency.	2. Dual system of major crops.	3. Small city.
D. Grain—live-stock—dairy-ing.	3. Multiple crop system.	4. Large town.
E. Vegetable—fruit.		5. Small town—industrial.
I. Predominantly non-farm.		6. Small town—non-industrial.
X. Unclassified.		7. Rural industrial.
		8. Rural non-industrial.

This threefold classification makes possible an almost endless number of possible groupings of the 1,104 counties under consideration. For the purposes of this study the crop sub-type was ignored and the two unclassified counties were included with the non-farm counties. The total counties were then grouped into the following fourteen composite types:

Composite type	Composite symbols	Number	Percent
1	2	3	4
I. Metropolitan city	I-1, I-2, I-3	64	5.8
II. Other non-farm	I-4, I-5, I-6, I-7, I-8	51	4.6
III. Large town cotton	A-4	49	4.4
IV. Other large town	B-4, C-4, D-4, E-4	26	2.4
V. Small town cotton—industrial	A-5	129	11.7
VI. Other small town—industrial	B-5, C-5, D-5, E-5	84	7.6
VII. Small town cotton—non-industrial	A-6	90	8.2
VIII. Other small town—non-industrial	B-6, C-6, D-6, E-6	50	4.5
IX. Rural cotton—industrial	A-7	43	3.9
X. Other farm, rural industrial	B-7, C-7, D-7, E-7	85	7.7
XI. Rural cotton—non-industrial	A-8	240	21.7
XII. Rural crop specialty—non-industrial	B-8	75	6.8
XIII. Rural self-sufficiency—non-industrial	C-8	70	6.4
XIV. Other rural farm—non-industrial	D-8, E-8	48	4.3
Total		1,104	100.0

Of the 1,104 counties in the 13 States classified, 922 had 5 percent or more of their population Negro. In addition there were 25 counties in Oklahoma, 15 in West Virginia, and 3 in Delaware which had 5 percent or more of their population Negro. The District of Columbia was considered a county and these 44 counties were classified and added to the 922, making a total of 966 southern counties having a significant proportion of Negroes in their population. Approximately 80 items of social, economic, and educational data were punched on Hollerith cards for each of these counties. The sample work sheet on page 123 indicates the data used.

A sample run of tables was made to discover significant factors. Important educational indices were then selected and run against such basic factors as the 14 county types, the proportion of Negroes in the population, the percentage of Negroes who are urban, the Plane of Living Index, and the class of the county with reference to the location of Negro colleges.

When the tables on the 14 county types were run it appeared that recombinations were necessary to show clearly the relation of various factors. The 14 types were then regrouped in 3 different ways, on the basis of economy, industrialization, and urbanization.

County type	Distribution of 14 types	Number of counties	Percent
1	2	3	4
<i>Economy</i>			
Non-farm	I, II	124	12.8
Farm other than cotton	IV, VI, VIII, X, XII, XIII, XIV	314	32.5
Cotton farm	III, V, VII, IX, XI	528	54.7
Total		966	100.0
<i>Industrialization</i>			
Non-farm	I, II	124	12.8
Farm:			
Industrial	III, IV, V, VI, IX, X	364	37.7
Non-industrial	VII, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, XIV	478	49.5
Total		966	100.0
<i>Urbanization</i>			
Metropolitan	I	66	6.8
Other non-farm ¹	II	58	6.0
Large town	III, IV	78	8.1
Small town	V, VI, VII, VIII	335	34.7
Rural	IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV	429	44.4
Total		966	100.0

¹ This group is a heterogeneous one; some of the counties are rural, none has a city of 25,000 population or more, and each has less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

The tables and the State distributions of the various counties are to be found on pages 125–62. An analysis of the tables appears in chapter III. County types are indicated on the maps for 16 States. The 3-way classification is shown, the first figure indicating the basic economy, the letter indicating the presence or absence of industrialization, and the last figure denoting the degree of urbanization. It is thus possible to determine at once the classification of any county with reference to these three factors.

Sources of Data Used in the Study

Population, social, economic, and educational data were punched on Hollerith cards for 966 southern counties. The coding of the data and the machine tabulations were done at Fisk University under the direction of Charles S. Johnson, Director of the Department of Social Science, and Eli S. Marks, statistician.

The sources and dates of the data used in the tables are as follows:

1. Population

All population data are from the 1930 U. S. Census. This includes data on age distribution, urbanization, percent Negroes are of the population, and population change, white and Negro.

2. Vital statistics

All vital statistics are from *Vital Statistics of the United States*, 1937, part I, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939. Table XIII.

3. County types

The county types were derived from the *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties*, by Charles S. Johnson and others, the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1941. The data on which the county types are based were taken from the 1930 U. S. Census. For the tables used in this study the county types

of the *Statistical Atlas* were grouped into composite types and then analyzed in three different ways. For the procedure followed see section III of this chapter.

4. Agriculture

1. The percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture is taken from the 1930 U. S. Census.

2. The percent of farm operators who are tenants, and the average value of farms (calculated), are taken from the U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935. Vol. I.

5. Home ownership

The percent of families owning their homes is from the U. S. Census, 1930. (Population, vol. VI.)

6. Economic data

The following items are from the U. S. Department of Commerce, Consumer Market Data Handbook, 1939 edition:

1. Employees in business and industry (1935) per 1,000 population (1930).

2. Wages in business and industry (1935) per employee (1935).
3. Retail sales (1935) per capita (1930 population).
4. Number of individual income tax returns (1935) per 1,000 population (1930).
5. Number of passenger automobiles (registered 1936) per 100 families (1930 population).
6. Number of families with radios (1938) per 100 families (1930 population).
7. Number of residential telephones (1935) per 100 families (1930 population).
8. Subscribers to 12 national magazines (1937) per 100 families (1930 population).
9. Index of place of local sales of filling stations (1935).

7. Unemployment

Unemployment data are taken from *Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations, 1937*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938.

[Sample County Work Sheet]

ASHLEY, ARK.
COUNTY

U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION STUDY

Study No. 33

Item	Col. No.	Code	Item	Col. No.	Code	Item	Col. No.	Code
Study No.	1-2		Total county (Number	12	5	Negro popu- (Number	17	5
County No.	3-6	0102	population. (Density	13	2	lation. (Percent of total	18	4
County type	7-9	016	(Percent change	14	5	(Percent urban	19	0
Percent ill. (White	10	0	(Percent urban	15	1	(Percent change	20	6
literate. (Negro	11	4	Percent G. E. males in agriculture ..	16	6	Percent G. E. Negro males in agri- culture ..	21	7

School Indices

School Index	White data	Negro data	Col. No.	Code	N/W ratio	Col. No.	Code
Percent, age 7-13 in school	95.2	90.8	22	0	95.4	35	9
Percent, age 14-17 in school	80.2	74.6	23	0	93.0	36	9
Percent, age 18-20 in school	26.6	21.1	24	5	79.3	37	7
Percent, enrollment in ADA	78.2	94.8	25	0	121.2	38	X
Average length of term	167	113	26	1	67.7	39	6
Percent, enrollment in high school ..	19.1	3.0	27	1	15.7	40	1
Percent high-school enrollment in fourth year ..	22.0	17.6	28	4	80.0	41	8
Elementary pupils per teacher	36	49	29	8	73.5	42	7
High-school pupils per teacher	27	25	30	4	108.0	43	0
Average teachers salaries—elementary ..	568	259	31	3	45.6	44	4
Average teachers salaries—high school ..	780	682	32	8	87.4	45	8
Expenditures per pupil	29.00	7.02	33	3	24.2	46	2
Teachers' training	89.2	39.4	34	1	44.2	47	4

Other Indices

Item	Data	Col. No.	Code	Item	Data	Col. No.	Code
Percent of population (White	36.8	48	8	Percent of families (Total	25	64	2
age 5-19 (Negro	33.5	49	7	owning homes. (White	37	65	3
Negro college (Enrollment ratio	11.8	50	1	(Negro	12	66	1
(County class	4	51	4	Median value of homes	1,826	67	3
Percent farm tenancy (White	49.7	52	4	Number per 100 (Autos	22	68	2
(Colored	90.4	53	9	families (Radios	53	69	5
Average value of farms (Total	1,171	54	3	(Telephones	5	70	2
(Colored	778	55	2	Modern conveniences index	35	71	3
Value per acre (Total	25.58	56	2	Living plane index	52	72	5
(Colored	32.68	57	3	Deaths per 1,000 (White	7.2	73	3
Employees per 1,000 population	53	58	3	population (Colored	11.7	74	4
Wages per employee	683	59	6	Births per 1,000 (White	26.8	75	7
Retail sales per capita	105	60	3	population (Colored	23.4	76	6
Income-tax returns	4	61	3	Infant mortality per (White	50.7	77	5
Number unemployed (Total	32	62	3	1,000 births (Colored	36.1	78	3
per 1,000 population (Negro	26	63	2	Subscribers national magazine ..	35	79	3
				Filling station sales	116	80	6

¹ The ratio given is white-Negro.

8. The Modern Conveniences Index

The Modern Conveniences Index was obtained by dividing automobiles, radios, and telephones per 100 families, each by the corresponding rate for the United States as a whole, and then averaging the three, i. e., the index for each county is expressed as a percent of the index for the United States, and these three percents are then averaged.

9. The Plane of Living Index

To secure the Plane of Living Index each of seven indices was expressed as percents of the United States figure. The seven percents were then averaged. The following were the indices used:

1. The Modern Conveniences Index (U. S. Index=100).
2. Average value of farms.
3. Wages in business and industry per employee.
4. Retail sales per capita.
5. Number of individual income tax returns per 1,000 population.
6. The reciprocal of the number of unemployed persons per 1,000 population (expressed so that a high figure indicates a low ratio of unemployment).
7. Percent of families owning their homes.

10. School data

The percent of children of each age in school are taken from the 1930 U. S. Census. All other school data are of 1937-38 with certain exceptions which are noted in the text.

In all cases cities in the counties were combined with the counties when separate figures for counties and cities were given.

The elementary and secondary school data were taken from the Reports of the State Departments of Education for each State, or from special tabulations supplied by the State Departments of Education. Calculations based on the data supplied were made for the U. S. Office of Education. Where school data are not given (except in the case of Missouri) they could not be secured from the State in question.

The number of students in Negro colleges (1938-39) per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 (1930 population) is based on data gathered by the U. S. Office of Education. The population by counties is given only by 5-year figures (U. S. Census) so that it was necessary to use as a base either the age group 15-19 or the group 20-24. The number of Negro youth does not vary greatly for the two age groups in most counties.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the study should have

been made so near the end of a census period. However, the validity of the findings are not seriously affected by the use of a 1930 population base. The purpose of the Study was not to show in specific detail the situation in any given county or to make comparisons of one county with another. No attempt has been made to demonstrate exact correlations but rather the aim has been to show the way in which certain significant factors are related.

Furthermore, the present study documents and confirms the general configuration of relative opportunity which is known to have persisted for generations. The relative positions of the various States remain very much the same as does the relative opportunity of white and Negro children in the majority of the areas under consideration.

Distribution of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges, by State of residence, and enrollment of Negro colleges by State in which colleges are located. (1938-39)¹

State	Number of Negro residents enrolled in Negro colleges	Residents enrolled in Negro colleges within the State		Total enrollment in Negro colleges within the State	Enrollment resident within the State	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Alabama.....	2,185	1,930	88.3	3,238	1,930	59.6
Arkansas.....	991	786	79.3	959	786	82.0
Delaware.....	137	67	48.9	96	67	69.8
District of Columbia.....	1,593	1,428	89.6	2,141	1,428	66.7
Florida.....	1,888	1,514	80.2	1,636	1,514	92.5
Georgia.....	2,746	2,290	83.4	3,121	2,290	73.4
Kentucky.....	1,007	788	78.2	869	788	90.7
Louisiana.....	2,273	2,053	90.3	2,361	2,053	87.0
Maryland.....	1,007	790	78.5	912	790	86.6
Mississippi.....	997	744	74.6	950	744	78.3
Missouri.....	900	718	79.8	886	718	81.0
North Carolina.....	4,212	3,760	89.2	4,724	3,760	79.6
Oklahoma.....	1,474	1,174	79.6	1,474	1,174	79.6
South Carolina.....	2,548	2,131	83.6	2,253	2,131	94.6
Tennessee.....	1,989	1,767	88.8	2,654	1,767	66.6
Texas.....	3,805	3,479	91.4	4,218	3,479	82.5
Virginia.....	2,163	1,664	76.9	2,936	1,664	56.7
West Virginia.....	1,003	913	91.0	1,275	913	71.6
Total.....	32,918	27,996	85.0	36,703	27,996	76.3

¹ From U. S. Office of Education Reports. Note that the first column indicates the residents of each State in Negro colleges without regard to the location of the college attended. Of all Southern Negroes who attended Negro colleges in 1938-39, 85 percent attended college in the State in which they resided. But while there were only 32,918 Southern Negroes attending Negro colleges, there were 36,703 Negro students in the Negro colleges of the South—that is, 3,785 Negroes from outside the South were attending Southern institutions. Thus, only 76.3 percent of the Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges were residents of the State in which the college was located. Information is not available regarding the number of Southern Negroes attending Northern institutions.

Appendix C. Tables

TABLE A-1.—Distribution of counties according to percent change in total population (1920-30) and county type

County type	Total counties given	Percent change in total population (1920-30)																							
		Decreased								Increased														Median	Not given
		30.0 or over		20.0-29.9		10.0-19.9		0.0-9.9		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0 or over					
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
<i>Economy</i>																									
Non-farm.....	116	1	0.9			3	2.6	9	7.8	12	10.3	17	14.7	15	12.9	18	15.5	13	11.2	28	24.1	29.7	8		
Farm other than cotton.....	307	4	1.3	4	1.3	40	13.0	95	30.9	81	26.4	37	12.1	28	9.1	8	2.6	3	1.0	7	2.3	1.3	7		
Cotton.....	524	14	2.7	26	5.0	59	11.3	142	27.1	144	27.5	65	12.4	42	8.0	16	3.0	7	1.3	9	1.7	1.5	4		
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																									
Non-farm.....	116	1	.9			3	2.6	9	7.8	12	10.3	17	14.7	15	12.9	18	15.5	13	11.2	28	24.1	29.7	8		
Industrial farm.....	358	4	1.1	8	2.2	28	7.8	73	20.4	106	29.6	61	17.0	48	13.4	16	4.5	6	1.7	8	2.2	6.2	6		
Non-industrial farm.....	473	14	3.0	22	4.6	71	15.0	164	34.7	119	25.2	41	8.7	22	4.6	8	1.7	4	.8	8	1.7	-2.2	5		
<i>Urbanization</i>																									
Metropolitan.....	66							5	7.6	7	10.6	10	15.2	9	13.6	13	19.7	5	7.6	17	25.7	30.0	---		
Other non-farm ²	50	1	2.0			3	6.0	4	8.0	5	10.0	7	14.0	6	12.0	5	10.0	8	16.0	11	22.0	29.1	8		
Farm:																									
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	78					4	5.1	5	6.4	26	33.3	15	19.2	18	23.1	4	5.1	3	3.8	3	3.8	12.7	---		
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	332	3	.9	6	1.8	26	7.8	96	28.9	89	26.8	51	15.4	35	10.5	12	3.6	7	2.1	7	2.1	3.9	3		
Rural.....	421	15	3.6	24	5.7	69	16.4	136	32.3	110	26.1	36	8.6	17	4.0	8	1.9	---	---	6	1.4	-2.5	8		
Total.....	947	19	2.0	30	3.2	102	10.8	246	26.0	237	25.0	119	12.6	85	9.0	42	4.4	23	2.4	44	4.6	3.2	19		

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-2.—Distribution of counties according to percent change in Negro population (1920-30) and county type

County type	Total counties given	Percent change in Negro population (1920-30)																				Median	Not given
		Decreased								Increased													
		30.0 or over		20.0-29.9		10.0-19.9		0.0-9.9		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0 or over			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
<i>Economy</i>																							
Non-farm.....	116	2	1.7	1	0.9	9	7.7	11	9.5	18	15.5	15	12.9	16	13.8	11	9.5	8	6.9	25	21.6	21.0	8
Farm other than cotton.....	307	14	4.5	42	13.7	75	24.4	70	22.8	43	14.0	30	9.8	17	5.5	2	.7	4	1.3	10	3.3	-6.8	7
Cotton.....	521	39	7.5	44	8.4	84	16.1	127	24.4	103	19.8	60	11.5	30	5.8	18	3.4	4	.8	12	2.3	-2.7	7
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																							
Non-farm.....	116	2	1.7	1	.9	9	7.7	11	9.5	18	15.5	15	12.9	16	13.8	11	9.5	8	6.9	25	21.6	21.0	8
Industrial farm.....	358	16	4.5	25	7.0	57	15.9	96	26.8	60	16.7	46	12.8	29	8.1	11	3.1	6	1.7	12	3.4	-1.6	6
Non-industrial farm.....	470	37	7.9	61	13.0	102	21.7	101	21.5	86	18.3	44	9.4	18	3.8	9	1.9	2	.4	10	2.1	-6.5	8
<i>Urbanization</i>																							
Metropolitan.....	66					3	4.5	6	9.1	10	15.2	10	15.2	9	13.6	6	9.1	5	7.6	17	25.7	24.2	---
Other non-farm ²	50	2	4.0	1	2.0	6	12.0	5	10.0	8	16.0	5	10.0	7	14.0	5	10.0	3	6.0	8	16.0	15.0	8
Farm:																							
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	78			4	5.1	5	6.4	20	25.6	19	24.4	7	9.0	12	15.4	5	6.4	3	3.8	3	3.8	5.3	---
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	331	13	3.9	23	6.9	67	20.2	83	25.1	58	17.5	46	13.9	19	5.7	6	1.8	2	.6	14	4.2	-2.5	4
Rural.....	419	40	9.5	59	14.1	87	20.8	94	22.4	69	16.5	37	8.8	16	3.8	9	2.1	3	.7	5	1.2	-7.5	10
Total.....	944	55	5.8	87	9.2	168	17.8	208	22.0	164	17.4	105	11.1	63	6.7	31	3.3	16	1.7	47	5.0	-2.2	22

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-3.—Distribution of counties according to percent Negroes are of county population and county type

County type	Total counties given	Percent Negroes are of county population																		Median percent Negroes
		Under 10.0		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
<i>Economy</i>																				
Non-farm	124	16	12.9	27	21.8	38	30.6	25	20.1	11	8.9	6	4.8	1	0.8					25.0
Farm other than cotton	314	65	20.7	69	21.9	54	17.2	50	15.9	48	15.3	19	6.0	7	2.2	2	0.6			24.3
Cotton	528	52	9.9	78	14.8	77	14.6	91	17.2	75	14.2	57	10.8	56	10.6	37	7.0	5	0.9	36.3
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																				
Non-farm	124	16	12.9	27	21.8	38	30.6	25	20.1	11	8.9	6	4.8	1	.8					25.0
Industrial farm	364	46	12.6	83	22.8	65	17.9	64	17.6	63	17.3	20	5.4	17	4.7	6	1.6			28.1
Non-industrial farm	478	71	14.8	64	13.4	66	13.8	77	16.1	60	12.5	56	11.7	46	9.6	33	6.9	5	1.0	34.9
<i>Urbanization</i>																				
Metropolitan	66	9	13.6	12	18.1	20	30.3	13	19.7	8	12.1	4	6.1							26.0
Other non-farm ²	58	7	12.1	15	25.8	18	31.0	12	20.7	3	5.1	2	3.4	1	1.7					23.9
Farm:																				
City, 10,000-24,999 population	78	7	9.0	17	21.8	11	14.1	15	19.2	15	19.2	6	7.7	3	3.8	4	5.1			32.7
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	335	40	11.9	76	22.7	57	17.0	52	15.5	48	14.3	29	8.7	20	5.9	12	3.5	1	.3	29.0
Rural	429	70	16.3	54	12.6	63	14.7	74	17.2	60	14.0	41	9.6	40	9.3	23	5.3	4	.9	33.7
Total	966	133	13.8	174	18.0	169	17.5	166	17.2	134	13.9	82	8.5	64	6.6	39	4.0	5	.5	20.4

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-4.—Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro population that is urban and county type

County type	Total counties given	Percent of Negro population that is urban																						Percent of counties having some Negro population urban
		0.0		0.1-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-100.0		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
<i>Economy</i>																								
Non-farm.....	124	16	12.9	4	3.2	2	1.6	5	4.0	9	7.3	10	8.0	14	11.2	12	9.7	16	12.9	23	18.5	13	10.4	87.1
Farm other than cotton.....	314	167	53.1	11	3.5	25	7.8	45	14.3	22	7.0	13	4.1	19	6.0	9	2.9	2	.6	1	.3			46.9
Cotton.....	528	256	48.4	50	9.5	95	18.0	57	10.7	35	6.6	18	3.4	9	1.7	5	.9	2	.4	1	.2			51.6
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																								
Non-farm.....	124	16	12.9	4	3.2	2	1.6	5	4.0	9	7.3	10	8.0	14	11.2	12	9.7	16	12.9	23	18.5	13	10.4	87.1
Industrial farm.....	364	87	23.9	20	5.4	75	20.6	74	20.3	44	12.1	25	6.9	22	6.0	11	3.0	4	1.1	2	.5			76.1
Non-industrial farm.....	478	336	70.2	41	8.6	45	9.4	28	5.9	13	2.7	6	1.3	6	1.3	3	.6							29.8
<i>Urbanization</i>																								
Metropolitan.....	66									4	6.1	3	4.5	10	15.1	6	9.1	10	15.1	21	31.8	12	18.2	100.0
Other non-farm ²	58	16	27.6	4	6.9	2	3.4	5	8.6	5	8.6	7	12.1	4	6.9	6	10.3	6	10.3	2	3.4	1	1.7	72.4
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	78					10	12.8	20	25.6	17	21.8	15	19.2	7	8.9	6	7.7	1	1.3	2	2.6			100.0
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	335			55	16.4	110	32.8	82	24.5	40	11.9	16	4.8	21	6.3	8	2.4	3	.9					100.0
Rural.....	429	423	98.6	6	1.4																			1.4
Total.....	966	439	45.4	65	6.7	122	12.6	107	11.1	66	6.8	41	4.2	42	4.3	26	2.7	20	2.0	25	2.6	13	1.3	54.6

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-5.—Distribution of counties according to Plane of Living Index and county type

County type	Total counties given	Plane of Living Index (total population)																						
		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		80-89		90-99		100-109		110-119		120 and over		Median	Not given	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
<i>Economy</i>																								
Non-farm	124			3	2.4	7	5.6	19	15.3	26	20.9	24	19.3	13	10.5	14	11.3	6	4.8	12	9.7	83.8		
Farm other than cotton	314	2	0.6	9	2.8	35	11.1	54	17.2	69	22.0	58	18.5	34	10.8	21	6.7	13	4.1	19	6.1	78.0		
Cotton	527	25	4.7	173	32.8	172	32.6	84	15.9	28	5.3	26	4.9	10	1.9	5	.9			4	.8	53.8		1
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																								
Non-farm	124			3	2.4	7	5.6	19	15.3	26	20.9	24	19.3	13	10.5	14	11.3	6	4.8	12	9.7	83.8		
Industrial farm	364	2	.5	36	9.9	103	28.3	81	22.2	54	14.8	46	12.6	19	5.2	8	2.2	8	2.2	7	1.9	66.2		
Non-industrial farm	477	25	5.2	146	30.6	104	21.8	57	11.9	43	9.0	38	8.0	25	5.2	18	3.8	5	1.0	16	3.4	66.5		1
<i>Urbanization</i>																								
Metropolitan	66					1	1.5	6	9.1	12	18.2	14	21.2	8	12.1	11	16.7	4	6.1	10	15.1	92.7		
Other non-farm ²	58			3	5.2	6	10.3	13	22.4	14	24.1	10	17.2	5	8.6	3	5.2	2	3.4	2	3.4	74.8		
Farm:																								
City, 10,000-24,999 population	78					20	25.6	19	24.3	21	26.9	10	12.8	4	5.1	2	2.6	2	2.6			69.5		
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	334	3	1.0	54	16.2	92	27.5	65	19.5	35	10.5	39	11.2	20	6.0	7	2.1	9	3.0	10	3.0	63.6		1
Rural	429	24	5.6	128	29.8	95	22.1	54	12.6	41	9.5	35	8.1	20	4.7	17	4.0	2	.5	13	3.0	56.6		
Total	965	27	2.8	185	19.2	214	22.2	157	16.3	123	12.7	108	11.2	57	5.9	40	4.1	19	2.0	35	3.6	64.0		1

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-6.—Distribution of counties according to Modern Conveniences Index and county type

County type	Total counties given	Modern Conveniences Index (total population)													
		Under 30		30-39		40-59		60-79		80-99		100 and over		Median	Not given
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<i>Economy</i>															
Non-farm	124			5	4.0	24	19.4	32	25.8	38	30.6	25	20.2	80.5	
Farm other than cotton	314	4	1.3	38	12.1	124	39.5	93	29.6	50	15.9	5	1.6	58.5	
Cotton	527	59	11.2	180	34.1	208	39.5	59	11.2	20	3.8	1	.2	42.4	1
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹															
Non-farm	124			5	4.0	24	19.4	32	25.8	38	30.6	25	20.2	80.5	
Industrial farm	364	7	1.9	55	15.1	161	44.2	93	25.5	44	12.1	4	1.1	54.9	
Non-industrial farm	477	56	11.7	163	34.2	171	35.8	59	12.4	26	5.5	2	.4	42.3	1
<i>Urbanization</i>															
Metropolitan	66					1	1.5	16	24.2	29	43.9	20	30.3	91.0	
Other non-farm ²	58			5	8.6	23	39.7	16	27.6	9	15.5	5	8.6	61.3	
Farm:															
City, 10,000-24,999 population	78			3	3.8	28	35.9	31	39.7	16	20.5			65.2	
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	334	9	2.7	62	18.6	148	44.3	78	23.3	33	9.9	4	1.2	53.0	1
Rural	429	54	12.6	153	35.6	156	36.4	43	10.0	21	4.9	2	.5	41.0	
Total	965	63	6.5	223	23.1	356	36.9	184	19.1	108	11.2	31	3.2	51.0	1

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-7.—*Distribution of counties according to subscribers to national magazines per 100 families and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Subscribers to 12 national magazines per 100 families (total population)													Median	Not given
		Under 20.0		20.0-39.9		40.0-59.9		60.0-79.9		80.0-99.9		100.0 and over				
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
<i>Economy</i>																
Non-farm	124	3	2.4	11	8.9	17	13.7	15	12.1	24	19.4	54	43.5	93.3		
Farm other than cotton	314	42	13.4	131	41.7	85	27.1	30	9.5	15	4.8	11	3.5	37.6		
Cotton	527	112	21.2	286	54.3	99	18.8	24	4.5	4	.8	2	.4	30.6	1	
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																
Non-farm	124	3	2.4	11	8.9	17	13.7	15	12.1	24	19.4	54	43.9	93.3		
Industrial farm	364	24	6.6	139	38.2	136	37.4	44	12.1	15	4.1	6	1.6	42.7		
Non-industrial farm	477	130	27.2	278	58.3	48	10.1	10	2.1	4	.8	7	1.5	27.8	1	
<i>Urbanization</i>																
Metropolitan	66					1	1.5	9	13.6	14	21.2	42	63.6	100.0+		
Other non-farm ²	58	3	5.2	11	19.0	16	27.6	6	10.3	10	17.2	12	20.7	58.7		
Farm:	78			10	12.8	39	50.0	18	23.1	7	9.0	4	5.1	55.0		
City, 10,000-24,999 population	334	12	3.6	175	52.4	107	32.0	26	7.8	6	1.8	8	2.4	37.7	1	
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	429	142	33.1	232	54.1	38	8.9	10	2.3	6	1.4	1	.2	26.6		
Rural																
Total	965	157	16.3	428	44.4	201	20.8	69	7.1	43	4.5	67	6.9	35.2	1	

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-8.—*Distribution of counties according to number of individual income tax returns per 1,000 total population and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Number of individual income tax returns per 1,000 population															
		Under 3.0		3.0-5.9		6.0-8.9		9.0-14.9		15.0-20.9		21.0-26.9		27.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
<i>Economy</i>																	
Non-farm	124			5	4.0	8	6.5	17	13.7	15	12.1	17	13.7	62	50.0	27.0	
Farm other than cotton	314	55	17.5	83	26.4	52	16.6	75	23.9	29	9.2	14	4.5	6	1.9	7.1	
Cotton	527	119	22.6	219	41.5	90	17.1	72	13.7	21	4.0			6	1.1	5.0	1
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																	
Non-farm	124			5	4.0	8	6.5	17	13.7	15	12.1	17	13.7	62	50.0	27.0	
Industrial farm	364	23	6.3	95	26.1	77	21.2	111	30.5	42	11.3	9	2.5	7	1.9	8.5	
Non-industrial farm	477	151	31.6	207	43.4	65	13.6	36	7.5	8	1.7	5	1.1	5	1.1	4.3	1
<i>Urbanization</i>																	
Metropolitan	66							2	3.0	3	4.5	12	18.2	49	74.2	27.0+	
Other non-farm ²	58			5	8.6	8	13.8	15	25.7	12	20.7	5	8.6	13	22.4	15.5	
Farm:				5	8.6	8	13.8	15	25.7	12	20.7	5	8.6	13	22.4	15.5	
City, 10,000-24,999 population	78	1	1.3			11	14.1	40	51.3	20	25.6	3	3.8	3	3.8	13.1	
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	334	7	2.1	122	36.5	99	29.6	72	21.6	21	6.3	8	2.4	5	1.5	7.2	1
Rural	429	166	38.7	180	42.0	32	7.4	35	8.2	9	2.1	3	.7	4	.9	3.8	
Total	965	174	18.0	307	31.8	150	15.5	164	17.0	65	6.7	31	3.2	74	7.7	6.0	1

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-9.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants																					
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
<i>Economy</i>																							
Non-farm	67	4	6.0	6	8.9	6	8.9	6	8.9	6	8.9	3	4.5	6	8.9	14	20.9	15	22.4	1	1.5	64.2	57
Farm other than cotton	219	10	4.6	28	12.8	25	11.4	25	11.4	29	13.2	31	14.2	28	12.8	21	9.6	17	7.7	5	2.2	47.4	95
Cotton	489			1	.2	4	.8	2	.4	16	3.2	29	5.9	80	16.4	93	19.0	166	33.9	98	20.0	81.2	39
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																							
Non-farm	67	4	6.0	6	8.9	6	8.9	6	8.9	6	8.9	3	4.5	6	8.9	14	20.9	15	22.4	1	1.5	64.2	57
Industrial farm	293	3	1.0	12	4.1	14	4.8	14	4.8	16	5.4	27	9.2	47	16.0	49	16.7	79	27.0	32	10.9	72.8	71
Non-industrial farm	415	7	1.7	17	4.1	15	3.6	13	3.1	29	7.0	33	7.9	61	14.7	65	15.6	104	25.1	71	17.1	75.0	63
<i>Urbanization</i>																							
Metropolitan	48	2	4.2	1	2.0	5	10.4	5	10.4	5	10.4	1	2.0	5	10.4	11	22.9	13	27.0			70.0	18
Other non-farm ²	19	2	10.5	5	26.3	1	5.3	1	5.3	1	5.3	2	10.5	1	5.3	3	15.7	2	10.5	1	5.3	45.0	39
Farm:																							
City, 10,000-24,999 population	71			2	2.8	1	1.4	1	1.4	1	1.4	7	9.9	15	21.1	11	15.5	21	29.6	12	16.9	77.7	7
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	289	2	.7	8	2.8	8	2.8	9	3.1	20	6.9	27	9.3	41	14.2	58	20.1	79	27.3	37	12.8	75.1	46
Rural	348	8	2.3	19	5.5	20	5.7	17	4.9	24	6.9	26	7.4	52	14.9	45	12.9	83	23.8	54	15.5	71.8	81
Total	775	14	1.8	35	4.5	35	4.5	33	4.3	51	6.6	63	8.1	114	14.7	128	16.5	198	25.5	104	13.4	73.3	191

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-10.—*Distribution of counties according to percent Negro families owning own home and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Percent of Negro families owning own home														Median	Not given
		Under 20.0		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-69.9		70.0 and over					
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
<i>Economy</i>																	
Non-farm	123	35	28.4	36	29.3	29	23.6	16	13.0	7	5.7			27.4	1		
Farm other than cotton	310	31	10.0	39	12.6	66	21.3	56	18.1	95	30.6	23	7.4	43.4	4		
Cotton	521	228	43.8	145	27.8	105	20.1	39	7.5	4	.8			22.2	7		
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																	
Non-farm	123	35	28.4	36	29.3	29	23.6	16	13.0	7	5.7			27.4	1		
Industrial farm	364	91	25.0	101	27.7	85	23.4	42	11.5	40	11.0	5	1.4	29.0			
Non-industrial farm	467	168	36.0	83	17.8	86	18.4	53	11.3	59	12.6	18	3.9	27.9	11		
<i>Urbanization</i>																	
Metropolitan	66	15	22.7	27	40.9	18	27.3	5	7.6	1	1.5			26.7			
Other non-farm ²	57	20	35.1	9	15.8	11	19.3	11	19.3	6	10.5			29.4	1		
Farm:																	
City, 10,000-24,999 population	78	18	23.1	21	26.9	28	35.9	9	11.5	2	2.6			30.0			
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	335	92	27.5	87	26.0	71	21.2	46	13.7	37	11.0	2	.6	28.7			
Rural	418	149	35.6	76	18.2	72	17.2	40	9.6	60	14.4	21	5.0	27.9	11		
Total	954	294	30.8	220	23.1	200	21.0	111	11.6	106	11.1	23	2.4	28.3	12		

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-11.—*Distribution of counties according to location of county with respect to Negro colleges and county type*

County type	Location of county with respect to Negro colleges								
	Total counties given	Two or more Negro colleges in county		One Negro college in county		One or more Negro colleges in adjacent county		No Negro college in county nor in adjacent county	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Economy</i>									
Non-farm.....	124	14	11.3	28	22.6	18	14.5	64	51.6
Farm other than cotton.....	314	1	.3	9	2.9	98	31.2	206	65.6
Cotton.....	528	7	1.3	29	5.5	183	34.7	309	58.5
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹									
Non-farm.....	124	14	11.3	28	22.6	18	14.5	64	51.6
Industrial farm.....	364	6	1.6	25	6.9	113	31.0	220	60.4
Non-industrial farm.....	478	2	.4	13	2.7	168	35.1	295	61.7
<i>Urbanization</i>									
Metropolitan.....	66	14	21.2	20	30.3	9	13.6	23	34.8
Other non-farm ²	58			8	13.8	9	15.5	41	70.7
Farm:									
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	78	5	6.4	12	15.4	17	21.8	44	56.4
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	335	1	.3	16	4.8	109	32.5	209	62.4
Rural.....	429	2	.5	10	2.3	155	36.1	262	61.1
Total.....	966	22	2.3	66	6.8	299	31.0	579	59.9

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-12.—*Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Average length of Negro school term (in days)																			
		Under 130		130-139		140-149		150-159		160-164		165-169		170-174		175-179		180 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
<i>Economy</i>																					
Non-farm.....	109					6	5.5	14	12.8	14	12.8	11	10.1	18	16.5	26	23.9	20	18.3	172.6	15
Farm other than cotton.....	296	5	1.7	10	3.4	21	7.1	55	18.6	115	38.9	30	10.1	22	7.4	18	6.1	20	6.8	162.5	18
Cotton.....	449	38	8.5	73	16.3	154	34.3	91	20.3	50	11.1	19	4.2	10	2.2	12	2.7	2	.4	147.2	79
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																					
Non-farm.....	109					6	5.5	14	12.8	14	12.8	11	10.1	18	16.5	26	23.9	20	18.3	172.6	15
Industrial farm.....	338	8	2.4	26	7.7	72	21.3	75	22.2	72	21.3	38	11.2	20	5.9	14	4.1	13	3.8	158.4	26
Non-industrial farm.....	407	35	8.6	57	14.0	103	25.3	71	17.4	93	22.9	11	2.7	12	2.9	16	3.9	9	2.2	151.2	71
<i>Urbanization</i>																					
Metropolitan.....	62					2	3.2	5	8.0	7	11.3	5	8.0	10	16.1	20	32.3	13	21.1	175.5	4
Other non-farm ²	47					4	8.5	9	19.1	7	14.9	6	12.8	8	17.0	6	12.8	7	14.9	167.9	11
Farm:																					
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	69	2	2.9	2	2.9	12	17.4	17	24.6	13	18.8	11	15.9	2	2.9	7	10.1	3	4.3	160.6	9
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	309	20	6.5	32	10.3	70	22.7	66	21.4	52	16.8	25	8.1	22	7.1	13	4.2	9	2.9	154.9	26
Rural.....	367	21	5.7	49	13.4	93	25.3	63	17.2	100	27.2	13	3.5	8	2.2	10	2.7	10	2.7	153.2	62
Total.....	854	43	5.1	83	9.7	181	21.2	160	18.7	179	21.0	60	7.0	50	5.8	56	6.6	42	4.9	157.5	112

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-13.—Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and county type

County type	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Average length of school term											
		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
<i>Economy</i>													
Non-farm	109			1	0.9	13	11.9	36	33.0	59	54.1	100.0+	15
Farm other than cotton	295	2	0.7	10	3.4	53	18.0	85	28.8	145	49.1	99.7	19
Cotton	449	15	3.3	75	16.7	167	37.2	131	29.2	61	13.6	88.1	79
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹													
Non-farm	109			1	.9	13	11.9	36	33.0	59	54.1	100.0+	15
Industrial farm	338	2	.6	28	8.3	60	26.6	114	33.7	104	30.8	94.3	26
Non-industrial farm	406	15	3.7	57	14.0	130	32.0	102	25.1	102	25.1	90.1	72
<i>Urbanization</i>													
Metropolitan	62					6	9.7	18	29.0	38	61.3	100.0+	4
Other non-farm ²	47			1	2.1	7	14.9	18	38.3	21	44.7	98.6	11
Farm:													
City, 10,000-24,999 population	69			3	4.3	19	27.5	26	37.7	21	30.4	94.8	9
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	309	8	2.6	34	11.0	88	28.5	94	30.4	85	27.5	92.6	26
Rural	366	9	2.4	48	13.1	113	30.9	96	26.2	100	27.3	91.4	63
Total	853	17	2.0	86	10.1	233	27.3	252	29.5	265	31.1	93.6	113

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-14.—Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and county type

County type	Total counties given	Current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled																				Median	Not given
		\$2.50-\$4.99		\$5-\$7.49		\$7.50-\$9.99		\$10-\$12.49		\$12.50-\$14.99		\$15-\$19.99		\$20-\$24.99		\$25-\$29.99		\$30-\$39.99		\$40 and over			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
<i>Economy</i>																							
Non-farm	59					1	1.7	5	8.5	9	15.2	7	11.8	17	28.8	10	17.0	6	10.2	4	6.8	\$22.78	65
Farm other than cotton	122			4	3.3	10	8.2	7	5.7	18	14.7	42	34.4	17	13.9	9	7.4	9	7.4	6	4.9	17.62	192
Cotton	228	5	2.2	33	14.5	52	22.8	46	20.2	34	14.9	33	14.5	10	4.4	1	.4	7	3.0	7	3.0	11.50	300
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																							
Non-farm	59					1	1.7	5	8.5	9	15.2	7	11.8	17	28.8	10	17.0	6	10.2	4	6.8	22.78	65
Industrial farm	172	2	1.2	8	4.6	23	12.4	27	15.7	26	15.1	46	26.7	18	10.5	4	2.3	11	6.4	7	4.1	15.00	192
Non-industrial farm	178	3	1.7	29	16.3	39	21.9	26	14.6	26	14.6	29	16.3	9	5.0	6	3.4	5	2.8	6	3.4	11.73	300
<i>Urbanization</i>																							
Metropolitan	31					1	3.2	2	6.4	6	19.3	4	12.9	8	25.8	4	12.9	3	9.7	3	9.7	22.10	35
Other non-farm ²	28							3	10.7	3	10.7	3	10.7	9	32.1	6	21.4	3	10.7	1	3.6	23.33	30
Farm:																							
City, 10,000-24,999 population	43			3	7.0	7	16.3	5	11.6	6	13.9	9	20.9	7	16.3			3	7.0	3	7.0	15.28	35
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	159	2	1.2	16	10.1	35	22.0	25	15.7	18	11.3	34	21.4	9	5.7	5	3.1	8	5.0	7	4.4	13.10	176
Rural	148	3	2.0	18	12.2	20	13.5	23	15.5	28	18.9	32	21.6	11	7.4	5	3.4	5	3.4	3	2.0	13.24	281
Total	409	5	1.2	37	9.0	63	15.4	58	14.2	61	14.9	82	20.0	44	10.8	20	4.9	22	5.4	17	4.2	14.20	557

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-15.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Current expenditure per pupil enrolled																					
		Under 20.0		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
<i>Economy</i>																							
Non-farm.....	59	1	1.7	10	17.0	11	18.6	14	23.7	9	15.2	4	6.8	5	8.5	2	3.4	1	1.7	2	3.4	46.9	65
Farm other than cotton.....	122	11	9.0	15	12.3	24	19.7	31	25.4	24	19.7	7	5.7	5	4.1	2	1.6			3	2.5	44.0	192
Cotton.....	229	52	22.7	58	25.3	35	15.3	25	10.9	23	10.0	16	7.0	9	3.9	1	.4	3	1.3	7	3.1	33.4	299
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																							
Non-farm.....	59	1	1.7	10	17.0	11	18.6	14	23.7	9	15.2	4	6.8	5	8.5	2	3.4	1	1.7	2	3.4	46.9	65
Industrial farm.....	173	13	7.5	42	24.3	34	19.6	25	14.4	27	15.6	14	8.1	10	5.8	2	1.2	1	.6	5	2.9	39.3	191
Non-industrial farm.....	178	50	28.1	31	17.4	25	14.0	31	17.4	20	11.2	9	5.1	4	2.2	1	.6	2	1.1	5	2.8	33.9	300
<i>Urbanization</i>																							
Metropolitan.....	31	1	3.2	5	16.1	6	19.3	6	19.3	4	12.9	2	6.5	3	9.7	2	6.5			2	6.5	47.0	35
Other non-farm ²	28			5	17.8	5	17.8	8	28.6	5	17.8	2	7.1	2	7.1			1	3.6			46.1	30
Farm:																							
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	43	3	7.0	8	18.6	10	23.2	6	13.9	5	11.6	6	13.9	2	4.7			1	2.3	2	4.7	40.9	35
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	160	23	14.4	38	23.7	27	16.9	22	13.7	24	15.0	9	5.6	8	5.0	2	1.3	2	1.3	5	3.1	37.5	175
Rural.....	148	37	25.0	27	18.2	22	14.9	28	18.9	18	12.2	8	5.4	4	2.7	1	.7			3	2.0	35.1	281
Total.....	410	64	15.6	83	20.2	70	17.1	70	17.1	56	13.7	27	6.6	19	4.6	5	1.2	4	1.0	12	2.9	38.6	556

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-16.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school															
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-14.9		15.0-19.9		20.0-24.9		25.0-29.9		30.0 and over		Me- dian	Not given
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
<i>Economy</i>																	
Non-farm.....	118	17	14.4	14	11.9	29	24.6	38	32.2	13	11.0	3	2.5	4	3.4	14.8	6
Farm other than cotton.....	296	68	23.0	82	27.7	75	25.3	48	16.2	14	4.7	7	2.4	2	.7	9.9	18
Cotton.....	445	196	44.0	146	32.8	67	15.1	28	6.3	6	1.3			2	.4	5.9	83
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																	
Non-farm.....	118	17	14.4	14	11.9	29	24.6	38	32.2	13	11.0	3	2.5	4	3.4	14.8	6
Industrial farm.....	343	93	27.1	120	35.0	69	20.1	41	12.0	14	4.1	4	1.1	2	.6	8.3	21
Non-industrial farm.....	398	171	43.0	108	27.1	73	18.3	35	8.8	6	1.5	3	.8	2	.5	6.3	80
<i>Urbanization</i>																	
Metropolitan.....	64	1	1.6	7	10.9	18	28.1	22	34.4	9	14.1	3	4.7	4	6.2	16.4	2
Other non-farm ²	54	16	29.6	7	13.0	11	20.4	16	29.6	4	7.4					11.8	4
Farm:																	
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	70	6	8.6	31	44.3	17	24.3	11	15.7	4	5.7	1	1.4			9.7	8
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	307	83	27.0	104	33.9	65	21.2	36	11.7	11	3.6	4	1.3	4	1.3	8.4	28
Rural.....	364	175	48.1	93	25.5	60	16.5	29	8.0	5	1.4	2	.5			5.4	65
Total.....	859	281	32.7	242	28.2	171	19.9	114	13.3	33	3.8	10	1.2	8	.9	8.1	107

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-17.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of all school enrollment in high school and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Percent of all school enrollment in high school																							
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
<i>Economy</i>																									
Non-farm.....	118	8	6.8	5	4.2	8	6.8	11	9.3	19	16.1	15	12.7	11	9.2	12	10.2	6	5.1	8	6.8	15	12.7	55.9	6
Farm other than cotton.....	296	38	12.8	19	6.4	34	11.5	40	13.5	43	14.5	31	10.5	31	10.5	19	6.4	10	3.4	5	1.7	26	8.8	44.6	18
Cotton.....	445	72	16.2	99	22.2	75	16.9	64	14.4	51	11.5	34	7.6	20	4.5	10	2.2	8	1.8	4	.9	8	1.8	27.4	83
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																									
Non-farm.....	118	8	6.8	5	4.2	8	6.8	11	9.3	19	16.1	15	12.7	11	9.2	12	10.2	6	5.1	8	6.8	15	12.7	55.9	6
Industrial farm.....	343	36	10.5	40	11.7	56	16.3	53	15.5	52	15.2	27	7.9	28	8.2	17	4.9	9	2.6	6	1.7	19	5.5	37.5	21
Non-industrial farm.....	398	74	18.6	78	19.6	53	13.3	51	12.8	42	10.5	38	9.5	23	5.8	12	3.0	9	2.3	3	.8	15	3.8	29.0	80
<i>Urbanization</i>																									
Metropolitan.....	64			1	1.6	2	3.1	7	10.9	14	21.9	8	12.5	7	10.9	10	15.6	5	7.8	3	4.7	7	10.9	60.0	2
Other non-farm ²	54	8	14.8	4	7.4	6	11.1	4	7.4	5	9.3	7	13.0	4	7.4	2	3.7	1	1.8	5	9.3	8	14.8	48.4	4
Farm:																									
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	70	1	1.4	4	5.7	13	18.6	13	18.6	18	25.7	4	5.7	7	10.0	4	5.7	3	4.3	1	1.4	2	2.9	43.6	8
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	307	21	6.8	49	16.0	46	15.0	49	16.0	36	11.7	33	10.7	26	8.5	15	4.9	10	3.2	4	1.3	18	5.9	38.0	32
Rural.....	364	88	24.2	65	17.8	50	13.7	42	11.5	40	11.0	28	7.7	18	4.9	10	2.7	5	1.4	4	1.1	14	3.8	26.7	61
Total.....	859	118	13.7	123	14.3	117	13.6	115	13.4	113	13.1	80	9.3	62	7.2	41	4.8	24	2.8	17	2.0	49	5.7	36.2	107

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-18.—*Distribution of counties according to average salaries of Negro high-school teachers and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Average salary of Negro high-school teachers															
		Under \$400		\$400-\$499		\$500-\$599		\$600-\$699		\$700-\$799		\$800-\$899		\$900 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
<i>Economy</i>																	
Non-farm.....	89	2	2.2	2	2.2	12	13.5	11	12.4	14	15.7	19	21.3	29	32.6	\$818	35
Farm other than cotton.....	191			15	7.9	19	9.9	56	29.3	54	28.3	30	15.7	17	8.9	710	123
Cotton.....	325	18	5.5	48	14.8	88	27.1	77	23.7	51	15.7	26	8.0	17	5.2	611	203
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																	
Non-farm.....	89	2	2.2	2	2.2	12	13.5	11	12.4	14	15.7	19	21.3	29	32.6	818	35
Industrial farm.....	246	2	.8	23	9.3	49	19.9	61	24.8	63	25.6	32	13.0	16	6.5	680	118
Non-industrial farm.....	270	16	5.9	40	14.8	58	21.5	72	26.7	42	15.5	24	8.9	18	6.7	629	208
<i>Urbanization</i>																	
Metropolitan.....	58			1	1.7	7	12.1	4	6.9	7	12.1	15	25.8	24	41.4	867	8
Other non-farm ²	31	2	6.5	1	3.2	5	16.1	7	22.6	7	22.6	4	12.9	5	16.1	707	27
Farm:																	
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	63			7	11.1	14	22.2	14	22.2	16	25.4	7	11.1	5	7.9	675	15
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	248	5	2.0	28	11.3	49	19.8	66	26.6	55	22.2	30	12.1	15	6.0	664	87
Rural.....	205	13	6.3	28	13.6	44	21.5	53	25.9	34	16.6	19	9.3	14	6.8	633	224
Total.....	605	20	3.3	65	10.7	119	19.7	144	23.8	119	19.7	75	12.4	63	10.4	668	361

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-19.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white Ratio: Average salaries of high-school teachers and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Average salaries of high-school teachers																Med- ian	Not given
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over			
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
<i>Economy</i>																			
Non-farm.....	89	6	6.7	14	15.7	14	15.7	22	24.7	19	21.3	8	9.0	4	4.5	2	2.2	64.8	35
Farm other than cotton.....	191	5	2.6	15	7.9	41	21.5	36	18.8	51	26.7	21	11.0	12	6.3	10	5.2	69.6	123
Cotton.....	326	28	8.6	58	17.8	66	20.2	82	25.2	50	15.3	27	8.3	8	2.5	7	2.1	61.3	202
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																			
Non-farm.....	89	6	6.7	14	15.7	14	15.7	22	24.7	19	21.3	8	9.0	4	4.5	2	2.2	64.8	35
Industrial farm.....	246	9	3.7	30	12.2	47	19.1	67	27.2	54	22.0	25	10.2	10	4.0	4	1.6	65.5	118
Non-industrial farm.....	271	24	8.9	43	15.9	60	22.1	51	18.8	47	17.3	23	8.5	10	3.7	13	4.8	61.7	207
<i>Urbanization</i>																			
Metropolitan.....	58	3	5.2	9	15.5	9	15.5	14	24.1	13	22.4	6	10.3	3	5.2	1	1.7	65.7	8
Other non-farm ²	31	3	9.7	5	16.1	5	16.1	8	25.8	6	19.4	2	6.5	1	3.2	1	3.2	63.1	27
Farm:																			
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	63	3	4.8	7	11.1	16	25.4	13	20.6	13	20.6	9	14.3	2	3.2			64.2	15
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	249	16	6.4	34	13.7	49	19.7	61	24.5	47	18.9	25	10.0	10	4.0	7	2.8	64.2	86
Rural.....	205	14	6.8	32	15.6	42	20.5	44	21.5	41	20.0	14	6.8	8	3.9	10	4.9	63.3	224
Total.....	606	39	6.5	87	14.3	121	20.0	140	23.1	120	19.8	56	9.2	24	4.0	19	3.1	64.0	360

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-20.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and county type*

County type	Total counties given	Percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training																		Me- dian	Not given
		Under 30.0		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-94.9		95.0-100.0			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Economy																					
Non-farm.....	69	1	1.4	1	1.4			1	1.4	5	7.2	7	10.1	8	11.6	11	15.9	35	50.7	95.1	55
Farm other than cotton.....	160	12	7.5	5	3.1	10	6.2	11	6.9	19	11.9	26	16.2	32	20.0	14	8.8	31	19.4	78.8	154
Cotton.....	248	34	13.7	23	9.3	31	12.5	19	7.6	24	9.7	14	5.6	25	10.1	24	9.7	54	21.8	66.7	280
Industrialization ¹																					
Non-farm.....	69	1	1.4	1	1.4			1	1.4	5	7.2	7	10.1	8	11.6	11	15.9	35	50.7	95.1	55
Industrial farm.....	182	22	12.1	9	4.9	17	9.3	14	7.7	12	6.6	15	8.2	27	14.8	20	11.0	46	25.3	80.7	182
Non-industrial farm.....	226	24	10.6	19	8.4	24	10.6	16	7.1	31	13.7	25	11.1	30	13.3	18	8.0	39	17.2	69.6	252
Urbanization																					
Metropolitan.....	42			1	2.4			1	2.4	1	2.4	4	9.5	4	9.5	7	16.7	24	57.1	95.6	24
Other non-farm ²	27	1	3.7							4	14.8	3	11.1	4	14.8	4	14.8	11	40.7	91.9	31
Farm:																					
City, 10,000-24,999 population.....	40	3	7.5	1	2.5	3	7.5	1	2.5	4	10.0	5	12.5	6	15.0	7	17.5	10	25.0	85.0	38
Town, 2,500-9,999 population.....	185	13	7.0	17	9.2	20	10.8	19	10.3	16	8.6	13	7.0	23	12.4	16	8.6	48	25.9	75.8	150
Rural.....	183	30	16.4	10	5.4	18	9.8	10	5.4	23	12.6	22	12.0	28	15.3	15	8.2	27	14.8	70.2	246
Total.....	477	47	9.8	29	6.1	41	8.6	31	6.5	48	10.1	47	9.8	65	13.6	49	10.3	120	25.2	79.0	489

1 The non-farm counties in this category are: Adams, Alameda

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-21.—Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent teachers with 2 or more years of college training and county type

County type	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Percent of teachers with 2 or more years of college training																		Medi- an	Not given
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over					
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
<i>Economy</i>																					
Non-farm	68	1	1.5			2	2.9	1	1.5	4	5.9	8	11.8	18	26.4	34	50.0	100.0	56		
Farm other than cotton	161	12	7.5	8	5.0	5	3.1	10	6.2	20	12.4	33	20.5	29	18.0	44	27.3	87.7	153		
Cotton	248	42	16.9	18	7.2	24	9.7	24	9.7	17	6.8	23	9.3	49	19.8	51	20.6	79.5	280		
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																					
Non-farm	68	1	1.5			2	2.9	1	1.5	4	5.9	8	11.8	18	26.4	34	50.0	100.0	56		
Industrial farm	183	22	12.0	15	8.2	13	7.1	8	4.4	13	7.1	23	12.5	42	23.0	47	25.7	88.9	181		
Non-industrial farm	226	32	14.2	11	4.9	16	7.1	26	11.5	24	10.6	33	14.6	36	15.9	48	21.2	81.2	252		
<i>Urbanization</i>																					
Metropolitan	41					2	4.9			1	2.4	4	9.8	14	34.1	20	48.8	99.6	25		
Other non-farm ²	27	1	3.7					1	3.7	3	11.1	4	14.8	4	14.8	14	51.9	100.0+	31		
Farm:																					
City, 10,000-24,999 population	40	3	7.5	2	5.0	2	5.0	3	7.5	2	5.0	7	17.5	14	35.0	7	17.5	90.7	38		
Town, 2,500-9,999 population	186	21	11.3	12	6.4	15	8.1	14	7.5	12	6.4	26	14.0	32	17.2	54	29.0	87.3	149		
Rural	183	30	16.4	12	6.5	12	6.5	17	9.3	23	12.6	23	12.6	32	17.5	34	18.6	78.7	246		
Total	477	55	11.6	26	5.4	31	6.5	35	7.3	41	8.6	64	13.4	96	20.1	129	27.0	87.9	489		

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include metropolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE A-22.—Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes Age 15-19 and county type

County type	Total counties given	Number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19																							
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
<i>Economy</i>																									
Non-farm	120	5	4.2	2	1.7	18	15.0	11	9.2	16	13.3	11	9.2	7	5.8	14	11.7	13	10.8	13	10.8	10	8.3	48.9	4
Farm other than cotton	287	39	13.6	29	10.1	65	22.6	65	22.6	35	12.2	27	9.4	10	3.5	5	1.7	3	1.0	5	1.7	4	1.4	21.6	27
Cotton	511	104	20.3	100	19.6	139	27.2	78	15.3	49	9.6	14	2.7	7	1.4	11	2.1	3	.6	2	.4	4	.8	13.7	17
<i>Industrialization</i> ¹																									
Non-farm	120	5	4.2	2	1.7	18	15.0	11	9.2	16	13.3	11	9.2	7	5.8	14	11.7	13	10.8	13	10.8	10	8.3	48.9	4
Industrial farm	354	40	11.3	41	11.6	94	26.6	74	21.0	50	14.1	24	6.8	9	2.5	9	2.5	3	.8	4	1.1	6	1.7	20.2	11
Non-industrial farm	444	103	23.1	88	19.8	110	24.7	69	15.5	34	7.6	17	3.8	8	1.8	7	1.6	3	.7	3	.7	2	.4	12.9	33
<i>Urbanization</i>																									
Metropolitan	66					3	4.5	6	9.1	9	13.6	6	9.1	6	9.1	9	13.6	10	15.1	11	16.7	6	9.1	63.2	
Other non-farm ²	54	5	9.3	2	3.7	15	27.8	5	9.3	7	12.9	5	9.3	1	1.8	5	9.3	3	5.5	2	3.7	4	7.4	30.0	4
Farm:																									
City, 10,000-24,999	78			6	7.7	18	23.1	23	29.5	11	14.1	7	9.0	3	3.8	4	5.1			2	2.6	4	5.1	26.5	
Town, 2,500-9,999	329	29	8.8	42	12.8	99	30.1	70	21.3	43	13.1	22	6.7	9	2.7	6	1.8	2	.6	3	.9	4	1.2	19.4	6
Rural	391	114	29.2	81	20.7	87	22.3	50	12.8	30	7.7	12	3.0	5	1.3	6	1.5	4	1.0	2	.5			10.1	38
Total	918	148	16.1	131	14.3	222	24.2	154	16.8	100	10.9	52	5.6	24	2.6	30	3.2	19	2.1	20	2.2	18	2.0	18.1	48

¹ The non-farm counties in this group include met.opolitan counties having cities of 25,000 population or more, and other non-farm counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture. The industrial farm counties include those with retail trade centers and those with at least 10 percent of the gainfully employed males in mining and manufacturing.

² Counties having no city of 25,000 population or more, but less than 25 percent of gainfully employed males in agriculture.

TABLE B-1.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants																				Median tenants	Not given
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
30-39	24			1	4.2	1	4.2					2	8.3			4	16.6	10	41.7	6	25.0	84.0	3
40-49	165			1	.6	3	1.8	2	1.2	4	2.4	8	4.8	20	12.1	30	18.2	65	39.4	32	19.4	82.2	20
50-59	193			2	1.0	9	4.7	3	1.6	10	5.1	8	4.1	30	15.5	37	19.2	59	30.6	35	18.1	79.3	21
60-69	126	1	0.8	4	3.1	3	2.3	6	4.8	6	4.8	11	8.7	24	19.0	17	13.5	33	26.2	21	16.7	74.7	31
70-79	93	5	5.4	6	6.5	8	8.6	8	8.6	7	7.5	19	20.1	10	10.7	13	14.0	15	16.1	2	2.1	56.6	30
80-89	78	5	6.4	7	8.9	4	5.1	8	10.3	14	17.9	4	5.1	13	16.7	13	16.7	7	8.9	3	3.8	52.5	30
90-99	42			6	14.3	2	4.7	3	7.1	5	11.9	6	14.3	7	16.7	6	14.3	5	11.9	2	4.7	58.3	15
100-109	22	1	4.5	4	18.2	3	13.6	2	9.1	1	4.5	2	9.1	2	9.1	4	18.2	2	9.1	1	4.5	50.0	18
110-119	14	1	7.1	1	7.1	1	7.1			1	7.1	1	7.1	6	42.9	1	7.1	1	7.1	1	7.1	63.3	5
120 and over	17	1	5.9	3	17.6	1	5.9	1	5.9	3	17.6	1	5.9	2	11.7	3	17.6	1	5.9	1	5.9	48.3	18
Not given																							1
Total	774	14	1.8	35	4.5	35	4.5	33	4.2	51	6.6	62	8.0	114	14.7	128	16.5	198	25.5	104	13.4	73.4	192
Median plane of living	60.4		82.0		85.0		72.0		77.0		78.0		71.0		63.0		58.0		54.0		54.0		

TABLE B-2.—*Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Average length of Negro school term (in days)																				Medi- an	Not giv- en
		Under 130		130-139		140-149		150-159		160-164		165-169		170-174		175-179		180 and over					
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		
30-39	21	4	19.0	4	19.0	10	47.6			1	4.8			1	4.8	1	4.8			142.5	6		
40-49	144	19	13.2	35	24.3	54	37.5	21	14.6	9	6.2	1	0.7	1	.7	2	1.4	2	1.4	143.3	41		
50-59	184	13	7.1	27	14.7	63	34.2	42	22.8	22	12.0	8	4.3	5	2.7	3	1.6	1	.5	148.3	30		
60-69	145	3	2.1	9	6.2	26	17.9	39	26.9	35	24.1	15	10.3	7	4.8	7	4.8	4	2.8	158.8	12		
70-79	115	4	3.5	3	2.6	12	10.4	22	19.1	36	31.3	16	13.9	11	9.6	7	6.1	4	3.5	162.3	8		
80-89	103			3	2.9	7	6.8	16	15.5	39	37.9	11	10.7	10	9.7	12	11.6	5	4.9	163.3	5		
90-99	52					4	7.7	7	13.5	18	34.6	4	7.7	5	9.6	5	9.6	9	16.9	164.2	5		
100-109	37					2	5.4	3	8.1	12	32.4	3	8.1	3	8.1	9	24.3	5	13.5	167.5	3		
110-119	19					1	5.3	4	21.0	2	10.5	1	5.3	4	21.0	4	21.0	3	15.8	171.9			
120 and over	33			2	6.0	2	6.0	6	18.2	5	15.2	1	3.0	2	6.0	6	18.2	9	27.3	171.3	2		
Total	853	43	5.1	83	9.7	181	21.2	160	18.8	179	21.0	60	7.0	49	5.7	56	6.6	42	4.9	157.4	112		

TABLE B-3.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total number of counties	Ratio N/W—Average length of school term											
		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
30-39	21	3	14.3	2	9.5	11	52.3	4	19.0	1	4.8	85.0	6
40-49	144	6	4.2	32	22.2	53	36.8	37	25.7	16	11.1	86.4	41
50-59	183	5	2.7	32	17.5	63	34.4	51	27.9	32	17.5	88.6	31
60-69	145	1	.7	11	7.6	39	26.9	42	29.0	52	35.8	95.1	12
70-79	115	2	1.7	5	4.3	20	17.4	41	35.6	47	40.9	97.4	8
80-89	103			3	2.9	17	16.5	36	34.9	47	45.6	98.7	5
90-99	52					7	13.5	20	38.4	25	48.1	99.5	5
100-109	37					13	35.1	6	16.2	18	48.6	99.2	3
110-119	19					2	10.5	7	36.8	10	52.6	100+	
120 and over	33			1	3.0	8	24.2	7	21.2	17	51.5	100+	2
Not given													1
Total	852	17	2.0	86	10.1	233	27.3	251	29.5	265	31.1	93.6	114

TABLE B-4.—*Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled																				Median	Not given
		\$2.50-\$4.99		\$5-\$7.49		\$7.50-\$9.99		\$10-\$12.49		\$12.50-\$14.99		\$15-\$19.99		\$20-\$24.99		\$25-\$29.99		\$30-\$39.99		\$40 and over			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
30-39	11	2	18.2	3	27.2	1	9.1	2	18.2	1	9.1							2	18.2			\$8.75	16
40-49	95	1	1.1	20	21.1	22	23.2	23	24.2	14	14.7	3	3.2	8	8.4			1	1.0	1	1.0	10.49	90
50-59	90	2	2.2	9	10.0	24	26.7	16	17.8	15	16.6	16	17.8	6	6.7	2	2.1	2	2.2	2	2.2	11.56	124
60-69	61			2	3.3	10	16.4	8	13.1	8	13.1	20	32.8	6	9.8	2	3.3	1	1.6	4	6.6	15.63	96
70-79	45					3	6.7	2	4.4	8	17.8	20	44.4	6	13.3	4	8.8	1	2.2	1	2.2	17.38	78
80-89	40			1	2.5			3	7.5	4	10.0	12	30.0	9	22.5	3	7.5	6	15.0	2	5.0	20.00	68
90-99	23					1	4.3	2	8.7	4	17.4	8	34.8	2	8.7	4	17.4	1	4.3	1	4.3	17.81	34
100-109	16									1	6.3	2	12.5	3	18.7	4	25.0	5	31.2	1	6.3	27.50	24
110-119	11			2	18.2					3	27.2			2	18.2			2	18.2	2	18.2	21.25	8
120 and over	17					2	11.8	2	11.8	3	17.6	1	5.9	2	11.8	1	5.9	3	17.6	3	17.6	21.25	18
Total	409	5	1.2	37	9.0	63	15.4	58	14.2	61	14.9	82	20.0	44	10.8	20	4.9	22	5.4	17	4.2	14.20	556

TABLE B-5.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Current expenditure per pupil enrolled																						Median	Not given
		Under 20.0		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over					
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
30-39	11	8	72.7									1	9.1					1	9.1	1	9.1	16.4	16		
40-49	96	27	28.1	24	25.0	17	17.7	10	10.4	9	9.4	4	4.2	3	3.1			1	1.0	1	1.0	28.8	89		
50-59	90	15	16.6	25	27.8	17	18.9	14	15.6	7	7.8	6	6.7	3	3.3	1	1.1			2	2.2	32.9	124		
60-69	61	5	8.2	15	24.6	13	21.3	7	11.5	10	16.4	3	4.9	3	4.9	1	1.6			3	4.9	38.1	96		
70-79	45	3	6.7	6	13.3	8	17.8	8	17.8	12	26.7	4	8.8	2	4.4	1	2.2	1	2.2			46.9	78		
80-89	40	2	5.0	5	12.5	2	5.0	10	25.0	6	15.0	7	17.5	6	15.0					2	5.0	51.7	68		
90-99	23	1	4.3	4	17.4	6	26.1	5	21.7	4	17.4			2	8.7					1	4.3	41.0	34		
100-109	16					3	18.7	9	56.3	2	12.5	1	6.2			1	6.2					45.6	24		
110-119	11	2	18.2			3	27.2	2	18.2	1	9.1	1	9.1							2	18.2	42.5	8		
120 and over	17	1	5.9	4	23.5	1	5.9	5	29.4	5	29.4					1	5.9					45.0	18		
Total	410	64	15.6	83	20.2	70	17.1	70	17.1	56	13.7	27	6.6	19	4.6	5	1.2	4	1.0	12	2.9	38.3	555		

TABLE B-6.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total number of counties	Percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school																Median	Not given
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-14.9		15.0-19.9		20.0-24.9		25.0-29.9		30.0 and over					
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		
30-39	21	15	71.4	4	19.0	1	4.8			1	4.8					3.5	6		
40-49	142	97	68.3	32	22.5	9	6.3	2	1.4	1	.7			1	0.7	3.6	43		
50-59	183	77	42.1	59	32.2	27	14.7	14	7.6	4	2.2	1	0.5	1	.5	6.2	31		
60-69	145	40	27.6	50	34.5	34	23.4	16	11.0	4	2.8	1	.7			8.2	12		
70-79	117	19	16.2	33	28.2	40	34.2	17	14.5	7	6.0			1	.8	10.8	6		
80-89	107	16	14.9	20	18.7	32	29.9	29	27.1	6	5.6	4	3.7			12.7	1		
90-99	54	7	12.9	18	33.3	12	22.2	15	27.8	1	1.8			1	1.8	10.8	3		
100-109	37	4	10.8	11	29.7	6	16.2	8	21.6	5	13.5	1	2.7	2	5.4	12.9	3		
110-119	19	1	5.2	4	21.0	6	31.6	3	15.8	2	10.5	2	10.5	1	5.2	13.7			
120 and over	33	5	15.1	11	33.3	4	12.1	9	27.3	2	6.1	1	3.0	1	3.0	10.6	2		
Not given																	1		
Total	858	281	32.7	242	28.1	171	19.9	113	13.3	33	3.8	10	1.2	8	.9	8.1	108		

TABLE B-7.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of all school enrollment in high school and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Percent of all school enrollment in high school																							
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
30-39.....	21	9	42.8	6	28.5	1	4.8	1	4.8			1	4.8			1	4.8					2	9.5	12.5	6
40-49.....	142	42	29.6	41	28.9	27	19.0	12	8.4	8	5.6	5	3.5	1	0.7	1	0.7	2	1.4			3	2.1	17.1	43
50-59.....	183	21	11.5	42	22.9	33	18.0	27	14.7	23	12.6	9	4.9	9	4.9	4	2.2	4	2.2	3	1.6	8	4.3	28.6	31
60-69.....	145	17	11.7	19	13.1	23	15.9	21	14.4	14	9.7	15	10.3	17	11.7	6	4.1	2	1.4	1	0.7	10	6.9	36.4	12
70-79.....	117	10	8.5	6	5.1	6	5.1	18	15.3	28	23.9	14	12.0	13	11.1	6	5.1	3	2.6	5	4.2	8	6.8	46.6	6
80-89.....	107	9	8.4	1	0.9	11	10.3	14	13.1	14	13.1	19	17.8	10	9.3	10	9.3	4	3.7	5	4.7	10	9.3	52.4	1
90-99.....	54	4	7.4	4	7.4	4	7.4	12	22.2	11	20.3	4	7.4	6	11.1	4	7.4	1	1.8	1	1.8	3	5.6	42.7	3
100-109.....	37	1	2.7	3	8.1	6	16.2	6	16.2	4	10.8	5	13.5	1	2.7	4	10.8	4	10.8	2	5.4	1	2.7	46.2	3
110-119.....	19	1	5.2	1	5.2	1	5.2	2	10.5	4	21.1	3	15.8	1	5.2	4	21.1	1	5.2			1	5.2	51.7	
120 and over.....	33	4	12.1			5	15.1	2	6.1	7	21.2	4	12.1	4	12.1	1	3.0	3	9.1			3	9.1	47.9	2
Not given.....																									1
Total.....	858	118	13.7	123	14.3	117	13.6	115	13.4	113	13.1	79	9.3	62	7.2	41	4.8	24	2.8	17	2.0	49	5.7	36.2	108

TABLE B-8.—*Distribution of counties according to average salaries of Negro high-school teachers and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Average salary—Negro high-school teachers																Median	Not given
		Under \$400		\$400-\$499		\$500-\$599		\$600-\$699		\$700-\$799		\$800-\$899		\$900 and over					
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		
30-39.....	11	1	9.1	3	27.3	4	36.3	1	9.1	1	9.1			1	9.1	\$538	16		
40-49.....	91	9	9.9	20	22.0	27	29.7	23	25.2	5	5.5	1	1.1	6	6.6	561	94		
50-59.....	136	7	5.1	18	13.2	38	27.9	29	21.3	19	14.0	18	13.2	7	5.1	617	78		
60-69.....	103	2	2.0	7	6.8	30	29.1	21	20.4	28	27.2	13	12.6	2	1.9	660	54		
70-79.....	87			7	8.0	11	12.6	27	31.0	25	28.7	12	13.8	5	5.7	694	36		
80-89.....	73			6	8.2	3	4.1	21	28.8	22	30.1	14	19.2	7	9.6	730	35		
90-99.....	37			1	2.7	2	5.4	9	24.3	8	21.6	7	18.9	10	27.0	786	20		
100-109.....	31	1	3.2	1	3.2	2	6.5	6	19.4	5	16.1	3	9.7	13	41.9	817	9		
110-119.....	13			1	7.7	1	7.7	2	15.4	4	30.7	3	23.1	2	15.4	763	6		
120 and over.....	22			1	4.5	1	4.5	5	22.7	2	9.1	4	18.2	9	40.9	850	13		
Total.....	604	20	3.3	65	10.8	119	19.7	144	23.8	119	19.7	75	12.4	62	10.3	668	361		

TABLE B-9.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average salaries of high-school teachers and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Average salaries of high-school teachers																		Median	Not given
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over					
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
30-39.....	11	2	18.1	1	9.2	2	18.1	4	36.4												
40-49.....	91	10	10.9	30	33.0	13	14.3	20	22.0							2	18.1	61.2			
50-59.....	137	11	8.0	20	14.6	27	19.7	31	22.6	6	6.6	3	3.3	5	5.5	4	4.4	54.2	94		
60-69.....	103	7	6.8	13	12.6	21	20.4	27	26.2	22	16.1	15	10.9	6	4.4	5	3.6	63.4	77		
70-79.....	87	4	4.5	10	11.5	15	17.2	22	25.3	20	19.4	10	9.7	2	1.9	3	2.9	63.9	54		
80-89.....	73	2	2.8	4	5.5	17	23.2	15	20.5	23	31.5	11	12.6	1	1.1	1	1.1	66.6	36		
90-99.....	37			4	10.8	7	18.9	9	24.3	9	24.3	5	8.2	4	5.5	2	2.7	69.0	35		
100-109.....	31	2	6.4	1	3.2	8	25.8	6	19.3	9	29.0	5	13.5	2	5.4	1	2.7	68.3	20		
110-119.....	13			2	15.4	3	23.1	4	30.7	3	23.1	4	12.9	1	3.2			67.5	9		
120 and over.....	22	1	4.5	2	9.1	8	36.4	1	4.5	5	22.7	1	7.7					63.7	6		
Not given.....														3	13.6	1	4.5	60.0	13		
Total.....	605	39	6.5	87	14.3	121	20.0	139	23.0	120	19.8	56	9.3	24	4.0	19	3.1	64.0	361		

TABLE B-10.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Percent of Negro teachers with two or more years of college training																						Median	Not given
		Under 30.0		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-74.9		75.0-79.9		80.0-84.9		85.0-89.9		90.0-94.9		95.0-100.0			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
30-39	9	5	55.6	1	11.1			1	11.1									1	11.1			1	11.1	27.0	18
40-49	85	20	23.5	11	12.9	18	21.2	7	8.2	14	16.4	1	1.2	1	1.2	3	3.5	3	3.5	4	4.7	3	3.5	46.4	100
50-59	86	8	9.3	11	12.8	11	12.8	6	7.0	7	8.1	6	7.0	5	5.8	4	4.6	5	5.8	7	8.1	16	18.6	70.0	128
60-69	68	5	7.3	1	1.4	4	5.9	9	13.2	10	14.7	6	8.8	5	7.3	2	2.9	4	5.9	5	7.3	17	25.0	74.2	89
70-79	64	4	6.2	3	4.7	4	6.2	5	7.8	5	7.8	3	4.7	4	6.2	6	9.4	5	7.8	10	15.6	15	23.4	83.3	59
80-89	69	2	2.9	1	1.4	2	2.9	3	4.3	5	7.2	4	5.8	5	7.2	5	7.2	10	14.5	10	14.5	22	31.9	89.0	39
90-99	31	1	3.2							1	3.2			2	6.4	3	9.7	2	6.4	4	12.9	13	41.9	91.9	26
100-109	30									3	9.9														
110-119	12	1	8.3											2	16.7	1	8.3			2	16.7	6	50.0	95.0	7
120 and over	22	1	4.5	1	4.5	2	9.1			3	13.6							2	9.1	1	4.5	12	54.5	95.4	13
Not given																									1
Total	476	47	9.8	29	6.1	41	8.6	31	6.5	48	10.1	20	4.1	27	5.6	31	6.5	34	7.1	49	10.2	119	25.2	79.2	490

TABLE B-11.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent teachers with 2 or more years of college training and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Percent teachers with 2 or more years of college training																		Med- ian	Not given
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over					
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
30-39	9	5	55.5	1	11.1			1	11.1							2	22.2	38.3	18		
40-49	85	24	28.2	10	11.7	13	15.3	13	15.3	7	8.2	4	4.7	9	10.6	5	5.9	56.5	100		
50-59	86	13	15.1	7	8.1	8	9.3	6	7.0	7	8.1	14	16.3	12	13.9	19	22.1	81.4	128		
60-69	69	4	5.8	1	1.4	4	5.8	6	8.9	11	15.9	12	17.3	15	21.7	16	23.2	87.1	88		
70-79	64	5	7.9	1	1.6	5	7.8	4	6.2	7	10.9	8	12.5	18	28.1	16	25.0	91.1	59		
80-89	68	1	1.4	3	4.4	1	1.4	3	4.4	3	4.4	12	17.6	21	30.9	24	35.2	95.2	40		
90-99	31	1	3.2							3	9.7	6	19.3	8	25.8	13	41.9	97.0	26		
100-109	30							1	3.3	3	10.0	2	6.7	6	20.0	18	60.0	100+	10		
110-119	12	1	8.3									3	25.0	4	33.3	4	33.3	95.0	7		
120 and over	22	1	4.5	3	13.6			1	4.5			3	13.6	2	9.1	12	54.5	100+	13		
Not given																			1		
Total	476	55	11.6	26	5.4	31	6.5	35	7.3	41	8.6	64	13.4	95	20.1	129	27.0	87.8	490		

TABLE B-12.—*Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and Plane of Living Index*

Plane of Living Index	Total counties given	Number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19																								Med- ian	Not given
		0.0- 4.9		5.0- 9.9		10.0- 19.9		20.0- 29.9		30.0- 39.9		40.0- 49.9		50.0- 59.9		60.0- 69.9		70.0- 79.9		80.0- 99.9		100.0 and over					
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		
30-39	25	10	40.0	8	32.0	5	20.0	1	4.0	1	4.0	2	1.1	1	0.6	1	0.6	1	0.6						6.6	2	
40-49	179	53	29.6	46	25.7	49	27.3	23	12.8	3	1.7	2	1.1	4	2.0	3	1.4	1	0.6	2	1.0	1	0.5		8.9	6	
50-59	204	38	18.6	36	17.6	57	27.9	28	13.7	27	13.2	8	3.9	4	2.0	3	1.4	2	1.0	1	0.5				15.0	10	
60-69	152	16	10.5	14	9.2	44	28.9	35	23.0	20	13.1	11	7.2	2	1.3	5	3.3	4	2.6	1	0.7				20.6	5	
70-79	118	12	10.2	15	12.7	25	21.2	23	19.5	17	14.4	8	6.8	4	3.4	7	5.9	2	1.7	3	2.5	2	1.7		23.0	5	
80-89	103	11	10.7	4	3.9	17	16.5	19	18.4	14	13.6	12	11.6	3	2.9	7	6.8	5	4.8	4	3.9	7	6.8		30.4	5	
90-99	51	3	5.9	3	5.9	5	9.8	14	27.4	7	13.7	5	9.8	4	7.8	3	5.9		3	5.9	4	7.8			30.7	6	
100-109	37	3	8.1	3	8.1	9	24.3	2	5.4	6	16.2	3	8.1	1	2.7	1	2.7	4	10.8	4	10.8	1	2.7		32.5	3	
110-119	18			1	5.5	4	22.2	1	5.5	2	11.1	2	11.1	1	5.5	1	5.5	1	5.5	1	5.5	1	5.5		30.0	1	
120 and over	31	2	6.4	1	3.2	7	22.6	5	16.1	4	12.9	1	3.2	3	9.7	2	6.4	2	6.4	2	6.4	2	6.4		31.2	4	
Not given																										1	
Total	918	148	16.1	131	14.3	222	24.2	154	16.8	100	10.9	52	5.6	24	2.6	30	3.2	19	2.1	20	2.2	18	2.0	18.1		48	

TABLE C-1.—Distribution of counties according to Plane of Living Index and percent Negroes are of county population

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Plane of Living Index																				Median Plane of Living Index	Not given
		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		80-89		90-99		100-109		110-119		120 and over			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
0.0-9.9	132	5	3.8	17	12.9	28	21.2	24	18.2	21	15.9	18	13.6	7	5.3	4	3.0	4	3.0	4	3.0	66.7	1
10.0-19.9	174	2	1.1	22	12.6	30	17.2	25	14.4	29	16.7	32	18.4	14	8.0	8	4.6	2	1.1	10	5.7	72.8	---
20.0-29.9	169	2	1.2	28	16.6	32	18.9	32	18.9	17	10.1	21	12.4	9	5.3	10	5.9	7	4.1	11	6.5	67.0	---
30.0-39.9	166	3	1.8	30	18.1	35	21.1	34	20.5	21	12.7	12	7.2	14	8.4	9	5.4	2	1.2	6	3.6	64.4	---
40.0-49.9	134	1	.7	29	21.6	36	26.9	15	11.2	24	17.9	13	9.7	8	5.9	2	1.5	3	2.2	3	2.2	60.7	---
50.0-59.9	81	3	3.7	22	27.1	21	25.9	13	16.0	7	8.6	8	10.0	1	1.2	5	6.2	1	1.2	---	---	57.4	1
60.0-69.9	64	6	9.4	21	32.8	21	32.8	6	9.4	3	4.7	3	4.7	3	4.7	1	1.5	---	---	---	---	52.4	---
70.0-79.9	39	4	10.3	14	35.9	11	28.2	8	20.5	1	2.5	1	2.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	51.4	---
80.0-89.9	5	1	20.0	2	40.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	20.0	1	20.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total	964	27	2.8	185	19.2	214	22.2	157	16.3	123	12.7	108	11.2	57	5.9	40	4.1	19	2.0	34	3.6	63.6	2
Median percent Negroes are of population	30.4	---	51.7	---	38.5	---	35.0	---	29.2	---	26.8	---	22.0	---	28.3	---	28.0	---	25.0	---	23.0	---	---

TABLE C-2.—Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants and percent Negroes are of county population

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants																				Median percent tenants	Not given
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
0.0-9.9	49			1	2.0	5	10.2	2	4.1	7	14.3	11	22.4	12	24.5	8	16.3	3	6.1			58.6	84
10.0-19.9	121	1	0.8	8	6.6	5	4.1	7	5.8	10	8.2	12	9.9	27	22.3	21	17.4	25	20.6	5	4.1	66.5	53
20.0-29.9	139	4	2.9	8	5.8	6	4.3	9	6.5	12	8.6	16	11.5	18	12.9	26	18.7	31	22.3	9	6.5	68.1	30
30.0-39.9	146	3	2.0	6	4.1	7	4.8	4	2.7	13	8.9	10	6.8	29	19.9	29	19.9	33	22.6	12	8.2	70.3	20
40.0-49.9	130	5	3.8	4	3.1	6	4.6	5	3.8	6	4.6	7	5.4	18	13.8	22	16.9	36	27.7	21	16.1	76.4	4
50.0-59.9	82			6	7.3	3	3.7	5	6.1	2	2.4	3	3.7	7	8.5	16	19.5	25	30.5	15	18.3	79.4	
60.0-69.9	64	1	1.5	1	1.5	2	3.1	1	1.5	1	1.5	4	6.3	3	4.7	6	9.4	27	42.2	18	28.1	84.8	
70.0-79.9	39			1	2.6	1	2.6											17	43.6	20	51.2	90.3	
80.0-89.9	5																						
Total	775	14	1.8	35	4.5	35	4.5	33	4.3	51	6.6	63	8.1	114	14.7	123	16.5	198	25.5	104	13.4	73.3	191
Median percent Negroes	35.4		37.0		30.8		32.8		28.3		27.0		25.3		30.0		33.1		42.0		53.3		

TABLE C-3.—Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro families owning own home and percent Negroes are of county population

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Percent of Negro families owning own home																Median
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-99.9		
		Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
0.0-9.9	121	9	7.4	5	4.1	17	14.0	26	21.5	29	24.0	22	18.2	12	9.9	1	0.8	41.2
10.0-19.9	174	5	2.9	20	11.5	44	25.3	46	26.4	27	15.5	19	10.9	11	6.3	2	1.1	33.9
20.0-29.9	169	4	2.3	41	24.3	41	24.3	44	26.0	22	13.0	11	6.5	3	1.8	3	1.8	29.6
30.0-39.9	166	12	7.2	38	22.9	40	24.1	43	25.9	16	9.6	7	4.2	5	3.0	5	3.0	28.3
40.0-49.9	134	7	5.2	35	26.1	43	32.1	23	17.2	14	10.4	1	.7	5	3.7	6	4.5	25.8
50.0-59.9	82	7	8.5	26	31.7	25	30.5	13	15.9	1	1.2	---	---	5	6.1	5	6.1	23.2
60.0-69.9	64	8	12.5	36	56.3	9	14.1	5	7.8	2	3.1	3	4.7	1	1.5	---	---	16.7
70.0-79.9	39	13	33.3	23	59.0	1	2.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	2.5	---	---	12.8
80.0-89.9	5	3	60.0	2	40.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total	954	68	7.1	226	23.7	220	23.1	200	21.0	111	11.6	63	6.6	43	4.5	23	2.4	28.3

TABLE C-4.—Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and percent Negroes are of county population

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Average length of Negro school term (in days)																				Medi- an	Not given
		Under 130		130-139		140-149		150-159		160-164		165-169		170-174		175-179		180 and over					
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		
0.0-9.9	110	2	1.9	8	7.3	14	12.7	18	16.3	21	19.1	11	10.0	16	14.5	15	13.6	5	4.5	163	23		
10.0-19.9	160	2	1.2	11	6.9	24	15.0	35	21.9	30	18.7	16	10.0	11	6.9	14	8.7	17	10.6	161	14		
20.0-29.9	154			16	10.4	28	18.2	35	22.7	29	18.8	11	7.1	9	5.8	16	10.4	10	6.5	159	15		
30.0-39.9	154	7	4.5	8	5.2	31	20.1	34	22.1	36	23.4	14	9.1	8	5.2	9	5.8	7	4.5	159	12		
40.0-49.9	121	6	4.9	14	11.6	31	25.6	25	20.7	33	27.3	4	3.3	4	3.3	1	.8	3	2.4	154	13		
50.0-59.9	71	6	8.4	9	12.7	24	33.8	8	11.3	21	29.6	1	1.4	2	2.8					149	11		
60.0-69.9	56	11	19.6	10	17.9	19	33.9	5	8.9	8	14.3	2	3.5			1	1.8			144	8		
70.0-79.9	25	7	28.0	7	28.0	9	36.0			1	4.0	1	4.0							138	14		
80.0-89.9	3	2	66.7			1	33.3														2		
Total	854	43	5.1	83	9.7	181	21.2	160	18.7	179	21.0	60	7.0	50	5.8	56	6.6	42	4.9	158	112		

TABLE C-5.—Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and percent Negroes are of county population

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total number of counties	Ratio N/W—Average length of school term											Median	Not given
		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over				
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
0.0-9.9	109			5	4.6	9	8.3	36	33.0	59	54.1	100.0+	24	
10.0-19.9	160	2	1.2	2	1.2	30	18.7	51	31.9	75	46.9	99.0	14	
20.0-29.9	154			9	5.8	37	24.0	61	39.6	47	30.5	95.1	15	
30.0-39.9	154	1	.6	10	6.5	52	33.8	46	29.9	45	29.2	93.0	12	
40.0-49.9	121	1	.8	14	11.6	45	37.2	32	26.4	29	24.0	90.2	13	
50.0-59.9	71	2	2.8	15	21.1	29	40.8	19	26.8	6	8.4	86.4	11	
60.0-69.9	56	6	10.7	21	37.5	20	35.7	5	8.9	4	7.1	80.5	8	
70.0-79.9	25	3	12.0	10	40.0	10	40.0	2	8.0			79.5	14	
80.0-89.9	3	2	66.7			1	33.3						2	
Total	853	17	2.0	86	10.1	233	27.3	252	29.5	265	31.1	93.6	113	

TABLE C-6.—Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and percent Negroes are of county population

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled																					
		\$2.50-\$4.99		\$5-\$7.49		\$7.50-\$9.99		\$10-\$12.49		\$12.50-\$14.99		\$15-\$19.99		\$20-\$24.99		\$25-\$29.99		\$30-\$39.99		\$40 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
0.0-9.9	35					1	2.9	1	2.9	6	17.1	10	28.5	4	11.4	1	2.9	3	8.5	9	25.7	\$19.75	98
10.0-19.9	61			1	1.6	3	4.9	7	11.5	5	8.2	12	19.6	18	29.5	5	8.2	3	4.9	7	11.5	20.70	113
20.0-29.9	78			2	2.6	6	7.7	15	19.2	12	15.4	16	20.5	9	11.5	6	7.7	12	15.4			16.25	91
30.0-39.9	84			4	4.7	11	13.1	12	14.3	12	14.3	26	30.9	10	11.9	5	5.9	3	3.6	1	1.2	15.60	82
40.0-49.9	70			8	11.4	15	21.4	9	12.9	16	22.9	15	21.4	3	4.3	3	4.3	1	1.4			13.00	64
50.0-59.9	34	2	5.9	3	8.8	12	35.3	9	26.4	6	17.6	2	5.9									10.00	48
60.0-69.9	27			11	40.7	11	40.7	1	3.7	3	11.1	1	3.7									8.06	37
70.0-79.9	17	2	11.8	7	41.2	4	23.5	3	17.6	1	5.9											7.32	22
80.0-89.9	3	1	33.3	1	33.3			1	33.3														2
Total	409	5	1.2	37	9.0	63	15.4	58	14.2	61	14.9	82	20.0	44	10.8	20	4.9	22	5.4	17	4.2	14.20	557

TABLE C-7.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and percent Negroes are of county population*

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Current expenditure per pupil enrolled																				Median	Not given
		Under 20.0		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
0.0-9.9	35			1	2.8			3	8.6	7	20.0	9	25.7	3	8.6	2	5.7	2	5.7	8	22.9	67.2	97
10.0-19.9	61			3	4.9	7	11.5	10	16.4	17	27.9	9	14.7	9	14.7	2	3.3			4	6.6	56.2	113
20.0-29.9	78	3	3.8	12	15.4	18	23.1	24	30.8	10	12.8	5	6.4	4	5.1	1	1.3	1	1.3			42.5	91
30.0-39.9	85	7	8.2	18	21.2	24	28.2	15	17.6	15	17.6	4	4.7	2	2.4							37.3	81
40.0-49.9	70	5	7.1	29	41.4	16	22.9	13	18.6	7	10.0											30.6	64
50.0-59.9	34	13	38.2	14	41.2	4	11.8	3	8.8													22.9	48
60.0-69.9	27	17	63.0	5	18.5	1	3.7	2	7.4					1	3.7			1	3.7			17.9	37
70.0-79.9	17	16	94.1	1	5.9																	14.6	23
80.0-89.9	3	3	100.0																				2
Total	410	64	15.6	83	20.2	70	17.1	70	17.1	56	13.7	27	6.6	19	4.6	5	1.2	4	1.0	12	2.9	38.3	556

TABLE C-8.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school and percent Negroes are of county population*

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school															
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-14.9		15.0-19.9		20.0-24.9		25.0-29.9		30.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
0.0-9.9	112	30	26.8	13	11.6	26	23.2	25	22.3	13	11.6	4	3.5	1	0.8	12.5	21
10.0-19.9	165	32	19.4	44	26.7	34	20.6	34	20.6	12	7.3	5	3.0	4	2.4	10.9	9
20.0-29.9	153	39	25.5	48	31.4	31	20.3	26	17.0	7	4.6	1	.6	1	.6	8.9	16
30.0-39.9	153	56	36.6	45	29.4	30	19.6	20	13.1	1	.6			1	.6	7.3	13
40.0-49.9	121	35	28.9	46	38.0	34	28.1	5	4.1					1	.8	7.8	13
50.0-59.9	71	32	45.0	27	38.0	9	12.7	3	4.2							5.6	11
60.0-69.9	56	34	60.7	15	26.8	6	10.7	1	1.8							4.1	8
70.0-79.9	25	20	80.0	4	16.0	1	4.0									3.1	14
80.0-89.9	3	3	100.0														2
Total	859	281	32.7	242	28.2	171	19.9	114	13.3	33	3.8	10	1.2	8	.9	8.1	107

TABLE C-9.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent all school enrollment in high school and percent Negroes are of county population*

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Percent of all school enrollment in high school																						Median	Not given
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
0.0-9.9	112	19	16.9	7	6.2	5	4.4	5	4.4	7	6.2	10	8.9	9	8.4	7	6.2	9	8.0	4	3.5	30	26.8	63.3	21
10.0-19.9	165	15	9.1	7	4.2	15	9.1	16	9.7	25	15.1	21	12.7	24	14.5	12	7.3	8	4.8	9	5.4	13	7.9	52.1	9
20.0-29.9	153	18	11.7	14	9.1	17	11.1	22	14.4	28	18.3	17	11.1	10	6.5	13	8.5	5	3.3	4	2.6	5	3.3	41.9	16
30.0-39.9	153	20	13.1	19	12.4	27	17.6	27	17.6	23	15.0	14	9.1	17	11.1	5	3.3	1	.6					33.9	13
40.0-49.9	121	15	12.4	15	12.4	27	22.3	23	19.0	22	18.2	12	9.9	2	1.6	3	2.5	1	.8			1	.8	31.5	13
50.0-59.9	71	7	9.9	25	35.2	15	21.1	15	21.1	6	8.4	3	4.2											22.3	11
60.0-69.9	56	15	26.7	22	39.3	8	14.3	6	10.7	1	1.8	3	5.4			1	1.8							15.9	8
70.0-79.9	25	6	24.0	14	56.0	3	12.0	1	4.0	1	4.0													14.6	14
80.0-89.9	3	3	100.0					1																	2
Total	859	118	13.7	123	14.3	117	13.6	115	13.4	113	13.1	80	9.3	62	7.2	41	4.8	24	2.8	17	2.0	49	5.7	36.2	107

TABLE C-10.—*Distribution of counties according to average salaries of Negro high-school teachers and percent Negroes are of county population*

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Average salaries of Negro high-school teachers															
		Under \$400		\$400-\$499		\$500-\$599		\$600-\$699		\$700-\$799		\$800-\$899		\$900 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
0.0-9.9	34			2	5.9			5	14.7	7	20.6	11	32.3	9	26.4	\$827	99
10.0-19.9	111	2	1.8	9	8.1	17	15.3	21	18.9	21	18.9	21	18.9	20	18.0	731	63
20.0-29.9	111	2	1.8	7	6.3	24	21.6	27	24.3	21	18.9	13	11.7	17	15.3	683	58
30.0-39.9	120	2	1.6	8	6.7	26	21.7	36	30.0	23	19.2	16	13.3	9	7.5	667	46
40.0-49.9	102	5	4.7	9	8.8	16	15.7	36	35.3	22	21.6	7	6.9	7	6.9	658	32
50.0-59.9	62	3	4.8	10	16.1	17	27.4	11	17.7	17	27.4	3	4.8	1	1.6	609	20
60.0-69.9	39	3	7.6	12	30.8	9	23.1	4	10.3	7	17.9	4	10.3			550	25
70.0-79.9	23	2	8.7	8	34.8	0	39.1	3	13.0	1	4.3					417	16
80.0-89.9	3	1	33.3			1	33.3	1	33.3								2
Total.....	605	20	3.3	65	10.7	119	19.7	144	23.8	119	19.7	75	12.4	63	10.4	668	361

TABLE C-11.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average salaries of high-school teachers and percent Negroes are of county population*

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Average salaries of high school teachers																Med- ian	Not given
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100 and over			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0.0- 9.9	34			1	2.9	4	11.8	1	2.9	12	35.3	4	11.8	7	20.6	5	14.7	79.2	98
10.0-19.9	111	4	3.6	6	5.4	14	12.6	30	27.0	30	27.0	18	16.2	6	5.4	3	2.7	70.5	63
20.0-29.9	111	4	3.6	16	14.4	25	22.5	30	27.0	19	17.1	11	9.9	5	4.5	1	.9	63.5	58
30.0-39.9	120	5	4.1	20	16.7	28	23.3	29	24.2	23	19.2	12	10.0			3	2.5	62.4	46
40.0-49.9	102	8	7.9	15	14.7	24	23.5	21	20.6	15	14.7	9	8.8	5	4.9	5	4.9	61.9	32
50.0-59.9	62	8	12.9	9	14.5	17	27.4	15	24.2	10	16.1	1	1.6	1	1.6	1	1.6	58.2	20
60.0-69.9	40	5	12.5	10	25.0	4	10.0	10	25.0	9	22.5	1	2.5			1	2.5	61.0	24
70.0-79.9	23	4	17.4	10	43.5	3	13.0	4	17.4	2	8.7							47.5	17
80.0-89.9	3	1	33.3			2	66.7												2
Total	606	39	6.5	87	14.3	121	20.0	140	23.1	120	19.8	56	9.2	24	4.0	19	3.1	64.0	360

TABLE C-12.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and percent Negroes are of county population*

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training																						Median	Not given
		Under 30.0		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-74.9		75.0-79.9		80.0-84.9		85.0-89.9		90.0-94.9		95.0-100.0			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
0.0- 9.9	45	1	2.2	1	2.2	3	6.7	1	2.2	6	13.3	1	2.2	3	6.7	2	4.4	4	8.9	3	6.7	20	44.4	90.8	88
10.0-19.9	93	5	5.4	2	2.1	9	9.7	9	9.7	9	9.7	2	2.1	3	3.2	4	4.3	7	7.5	10	10.8	33	35.4	87.5	81
20.0-29.9	110	7	6.4	5	4.5	4	3.7	5	4.5	12	11.0	4	3.7	6	5.4	11	10.0	6	5.4	18	16.3	32	29.1	85.8	59
30.0-39.9	95	9	9.4	5	5.2	9	9.4	6	6.3	7	7.4	7	7.4	7	7.4	6	6.3	7	7.4	10	10.5	22	23.2	78.2	71
40.0-49.9	36	10	16.3	3	4.9	7	11.5	6	9.8	5	8.2	3	4.9	4	6.6	4	6.6	5	8.2	5	8.2	9	14.7	69.0	73
50.0-59.9	36	6	16.6	4	11.1	3	8.3	2	5.6	6	16.6	2	5.6	2	5.6	4	11.1	4	11.1	2	5.6	1	2.8	65.0	46
60.0-69.9	19	2	10.5	5	26.3	4	21.0			1	5.2	1	5.2	2	10.5			1	5.2			3	15.8	46.2	45
70.0-79.9	15	5	33.3	4	26.7	2	13.3	2	13.3	1	6.7									1	6.7			36.2	24
80.0-89.9	3	2	66.7							1	33.3														2
Total	477	47	9.8	29	6.1	41	8.6	31	6.5	48	10.1	20	4.2	27	5.6	31	6.5	34	7.1	49	10.3	120	25.2	79.2	489

TABLE C-13.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent teachers with 2 or more years college training and percent Negroes are of county population*

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Percent teachers with 2 or more years of college training																		Median	Not given
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over					
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
0.0-9.9	46	1	2.2	1	2.2	1	2.2	4	8.7	1	2.2	6	13.0	14	30.4	18	39.1	96.4	87		
10.0-19.9	93	3	3.2	5	5.4	6	6.4	4	4.3	9	9.7	10	10.8	19	20.4	37	39.8	95.0	81		
20.0-29.9	110	10	9.2	2	1.9	6	5.4	5	4.5	8	7.3	17	15.4	26	23.6	36	32.7	92.7	59		
30.0-39.9	95	8	8.5	5	5.2	8	8.4	9	9.4	10	10.5	12	12.6	17	17.9	26	27.4	86.2	71		
40.0-49.9	60	10	16.7	5	8.3	5	8.3	4	6.7	5	8.3	12	20.0	10	16.6	9	15.0	80.8	74		
50.0-59.9	36	6	16.6	5	13.9	2	5.6	5	13.9	5	13.9	5	13.9	6	16.6	2	5.6	70.0	46		
60.0-69.9	19	7	36.7			2	10.5	2	10.5	3	15.8	2	10.5	2	10.5	1	5.2	62.5	45		
70.0-79.9	15	8	53.2	3	20.0	1	6.7	1	6.7					2	13.3			38.7	24		
80.0-89.9	3	2	66.6					1	33.3										2		
Total	477	55	11.6	26	5.4	31	6.5	35	7.3	41	8.6	64	13.4	96	20.1	129	27.0	87.9	489		

TABLE C-14.—*Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and percent Negroes are of county population*

Percent Negroes are of county population	Total counties given	Number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19																							
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
0.0-9.9	96	11	11.5	10	10.4	16	16.7	12	12.5	9	9.4	8	8.3	3	3.1	6	6.2	6	6.2	6	6.2	9	9.4	29.2	37
10.0-19.9	169	19	11.2	15	8.9	30	17.7	30	17.7	27	16.0	16	9.5	9	5.3	11	6.5	5	3.0	3	1.8	4	2.4	26.8	5
20.0-29.9	166	22	13.2	18	10.8	49	29.5	23	13.9	23	13.9	7	4.2	4	2.4	6	3.6	6	3.6	5	3.0	3	1.8	18.8	3
30.0-39.9	164	25	15.2	22	13.4	33	20.1	38	23.1	18	11.0	13	7.9	4	2.4	5	3.0	1	.6	4	2.4	1	.6	20.5	2
40.0-49.9	134	27	20.1	21	15.6	36	26.9	25	18.7	17	12.7	3	2.2	2	1.5			1	.7	1	.7	1	.7	15.3	
50.0-59.9	81	14	17.3	17	21.0	29	35.8	13	16.0	4	4.9	2	2.5			1	1.2			1	1.2			13.3	1
60.0-69.9	64	21	32.8	14	21.9	15	23.4	8	12.5	1	1.6	2	3.1	2	3.1	1	1.6			1				8.9	1
70.0-79.9	39	7	17.9	13	33.3	13	33.3	5	12.8	1	2.5									1				9.8	
80.0-89.9	5	2	40.0	1	20.0	1	20.0					1	20.0												
Total	918	148	16.1	131	14.3	222	24.2	154	16.8	100	10.9	52	5.6	24	2.6	30	3.2	19	2.1	20	2.2	18	2.0	18.1	48

TABLE D-1.—*Distribution of counties according to Plane of Living Index and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Plane of Living Index																				Median Index	Not given
		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		80-89		90-99		100-109		110-119		120 and over			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
0.0-9.9	503	25	4.9	140	27.8	119	23.7	66	13.1	49	9.7	43	8.5	25	4.9	19	3.8	3	0.6	14	2.8	57.3	
10.0-19.9	122	2	1.6	24	19.7	41	33.6	26	21.3	10	8.2	8	6.6	2	1.6	1	.8	5	4.1	3	2.5	58.5	
20.0-29.9	106			14	13.2	23	21.7	22	20.8	21	19.8	14	13.2	5	4.7	3	2.8	1	.9	3	2.8	67.3	1
30.0-39.9	66			5	7.6	16	24.2	18	27.2	9	13.6	6	9.1	7	10.6	4	6.0	1	1.5				
40.0-49.9	41			1	2.4	7	17.1	4	9.8	11	26.8	11	26.8	4	9.8			1	2.4	2	4.9	77.7	
50.0-59.9	42					3	7.1	15	35.7	7	16.7	7	16.7	6	14.3	2	4.7	1	2.4	1	2.4	74.3	
60.0-69.9	26			1	3.8	4	15.4	1	3.8	7	26.9	5	19.2	3	11.5	2	7.8	2	7.8	1	3.8	80.0	
70.0-79.9	20							4	20.0	3	15.0	7	35.0	2	10.0			1	5.0	3	15.0	84.3	
80.0-89.9	25					1	4.0					5	20.0	2	8.0	3	12.0	4	16.0	4	16.0	92.5	
90.0-100.0	13							1	7.7		6	24.0	2	15.4	1	7.7	6	46.1		3	23.1	104.2	
Not given																							
Total	964	27	2.8	185	19.2	214	22.2	157	16.3	123	12.7	108	11.2	57	5.9	40	4.1	19	2.0	34	3.6	63.6	2
Median urban	9.6		5.4		6.6		9.0		15.0		21.0		22.0		23.0		20.0		35.0		20.0		

TABLE D-2.—*Distribution of counties according to percent Negroes are of county population and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total number of counties	Percent Negroes are of county population																		Median Negroes	Not given
		Under 10.0		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
0.0-9.9	503	71	14.1	64	12.7	77	15.3	89	17.7	69	13.7	52	10.3	49	9.7	28	5.6	4	0.7	34.4	
10.0-19.9	122	8	6.5	13	10.7	19	15.6	24	19.7	27	22.1	14	11.5	9	7.4	7	5.7	1	.8	38.7	
20.0-29.9	107	2	1.9	25	23.3	28	26.2	19	17.8	17	15.9	9	8.4	4	3.7	3	2.8			29.4	
30.0-39.9	66	12	18.2	21	31.8	14	21.2	9	13.6	8	12.1	1	1.5	1	1.5					20.0	
40.0-49.9	41	10	24.4	14	34.1	3	7.3	6	14.6	5	12.2	1	2.4	1	2.4	1	2.4			17.5	
50.0-59.9	42	12	28.6	13	30.9	3	7.1	6	14.3	3	7.1	5	11.9							16.9	
60.0-69.9	26	6	23.1	6	23.1	11	42.3	3	11.5											20.9	
70.0-79.9	20	3	15.0	3	15.0	5	25.0	5	25.0	4	20.0									28.0	
80.0-89.9	25	5	20.0	10	40.0	5	20.0	4	16.0	1	4.0									17.5	
90.0-100.0	13	3	23.1	5	38.4	4	30.8	1	7.7											17.0	
Not given																					
Total	965	132	13.7	174	18.0	169	17.5	166	17.2	134	13.9	82	8.5	64	6.6	39	4.0	5	.5	30.5	
Median urban	9.6		9.3		24.0		13.9		9.3		9.7		7.9		6.5		7.0		6.3		

TABLE D-3.—*Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Average length of Negro school term in days																			
		Under 130		130-139		140-149		150-159		160-164		165-169		170-174		175-179		180 and over		Med- ian	Not given
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
0.0-9.9	435	28	6.5	58	13.3	108	24.8	75	17.2	113	26.0	16	3.7	11	2.5	14	3.2	12	2.7	153	68
10.0-19.9	108	9	8.3	13	12.0	39	36.1	20	18.5	14	13.0	5	4.6	3	2.7	2	1.8	3	2.7	148	14
20.0-29.9	99	4	4.1	7	7.0	18	18.2	29	29.3	22	22.2	9	9.0	3	3.0	5	5.0	2	2.2	157	8
30.0-39.9	61			3	4.9	9	14.7	17	27.9	10	16.4	11	18.0	3	4.9	4	6.6	4	6.6	161	5
40.0-49.9	34	2	5.9	2	5.9	1	2.9	7	20.6	7	20.6	2	5.9	7	20.6	4	11.7	2	5.9	164	7
50.0-59.9	38					3	7.9	5	13.1	8	21.1	8	21.1	8	21.1	5	13.1	1	2.6	167	4
60.0-69.9	24							6	25.0	3	12.5	4	16.7	6	25.0	4	16.7	1	4.1	169	2
70.0-79.9	18					1	5.6					2	11.1	4	22.2	4	22.2	7	38.9	177	2
80.0-89.9	25					1	4.0	1	4.0	2	8.0	2	8.0	4	16.0	10	40.0	5	20.0	176	
90.0-100.0	12					1	8.3					1	8.3	1	8.3	4	33.3	5	41.7	179	1
Not given																					1
Total	854	43	5.1	83	9.7	181	21.2	160	18.7	179	21.0	60	7.0	50	5.8	56	6.6	42	4.9	157	112

TABLE D-4.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total number of coun- ties	Ratio N/W—Average length of school term											
		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.9-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0.0-9.9	434	14	3.2	59	13.5	134	30.9	115	26.5	112	25.8	90.9	69
10.0-19.9	108	2	1.8	18	16.7	45	41.7	26	24.1	17	15.7	87.6	14
20.0-29.9	99			6	6.1	33	33.3	33	33.3	27	27.3	93.2	8
30.0-39.9	61			1	1.6	8	13.1	29	47.5	23	37.7	97.4	5
40.0-49.9	34	1	2.9	2	5.9	4	11.8	15	44.1	12	35.3	96.7	7
50.0-59.9	38					5	13.2	14	36.8	19	50.0	100.0	4
60.0-69.9	24					1	4.2	10	41.7	13	54.1	100.0+	2
70.0-79.9	18							3	16.7	15	83.3	100.0+	2
80.0-89.9	25					2	8.0	6	24.0	17	68.0	100.0+	
90.0-100.0	12					1	8.3	1	8.3	10	83.3	100.0+	1
Not given													1
Total	853	17	2.0	86	10.1	233	27.3	252	29.5	265	31.1	93.6	113

TABLE D-5.—*Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled																					
		\$2.50-\$4.99		\$5-\$7.49		\$7.50-\$9.99		\$10-\$12.49		\$12.50-\$14.99		\$15-\$19.99		\$20-\$24.99		\$25-\$29.99		\$30-\$39.99		\$40 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
0.0-9.9	196	3	1.5	26	13.3	31	15.8	28	14.3	33	16.8	42	21.4	13	6.6	9	4.6	7	3.6	4	2.0	\$13.26	307
10.0-19.9	69	1	1.4	9	13.0	16	23.2	15	21.7	7	10.1	11	15.9	2	2.9	1	1.4	4	5.8	3	4.3	11.42	53
20.0-29.9	51	1	2.0	1	2.0	12	23.5	7	13.7	7	13.7	11	21.6	4	7.8	2	3.9	5	9.8	1	2.0	14.11	56
30.0-39.9	30					2	6.7	5	16.6	9	30.0	7	23.3	2	6.7	2	6.7	1	3.3	2	6.7	14.72	36
40.0-49.9	16			1	6.2	1	6.2	1	6.2	1	6.2	3	18.7	4	25.0			2	12.5	3	18.7	21.25	25
50.0-59.9	14					1	7.1	2	14.3	2	14.3	3	21.4	5	35.7					1	7.1	18.33	28
60.0-69.9	13									2	15.4	2	15.4	7	53.8	1	7.7	1	7.7			21.79	13
70.0-79.9	6											1	16.7	4	66.6	1	16.7					22.50	14
80.0-89.9	9											1	11.1	3	33.3	2	22.2	1	11.1	2	22.2	26.25	16
90.0-100.0	5											1	20.0			2	40.0	1	20.0	1	20.0		8
Total	409	5	1.2	37	9.0	63	15.4	58	14.2	61	14.9	82	20.0	44	10.8	20	4.9	22	5.4	17	4.2	14.20	556

TABLE D-6.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Current expenditure per pupil enrolled																					
		Under 20.0		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
0.0-9.9	196	45	22.9	37	18.9	31	15.8	37	18.9	24	12.2	11	5.6	5	2.6	1	0.5	2	1.0	3	1.5	35.2	307
10.0-19.9	69	14	20.2	18	26.1	11	15.9	8	11.6	9	13.0	2	2.9	3	4.3	2	2.9			2	2.9	32.3	53
20.0-29.9	52	3	5.8	17	32.7	9	17.3	5	9.6	10	19.2	3	5.8	4	7.7					1	1.9	36.7	55
30.0-39.9	30			3	10.0	8	26.6	7	23.3	5	16.7	5	16.7							2	6.7	45.7	36
40.0-49.9	16	1	6.2	3	18.8	4	25.0	1	6.2	3	18.8	1	6.2	1	6.2			1	6.2	2	12.5	50.0	25
50.0-59.9	14	1	7.1	4	28.6	5	35.7	1	7.1			1	7.1	1	7.1			1	7.1			34.0	28
60.0-69.9	13			1	7.7			4	30.7	4	30.7			1	7.7							46.3	13
70.0-79.9	6					2	33.3	1	16.6	1	16.6	1	16.6	1	16.6							50.0	14
80.0-89.9	9							2	22.2	1	11.1	1	11.1	2	22.2	1	11.1			2	22.2	72.5	16
90.0-100.0	5					1	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0			1	20.0	1	20.0						8
Total	410	64	15.6	83	20.2	70	17.1	70	17.1	56	13.7	27	6.6	19	4.6	5	1.2	4	1.0	12	2.9	38.3	555

TABLE D-7.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total number of counties	Percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school															
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-14.9		15.0-19.9		20.0-24.9		25.0-29.9		30.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
0.0-9.9	435	214	49.2	110	25.3	68	15.6	35	8.0	6	1.4	2	0.5			6.6	68
10.0-19.9	108	37	34.2	38	35.2	18	16.7	9	8.3	6	5.6					7.2	14
20.0-29.9	98	19	19.4	40	40.8	24	24.5	10	10.2	2	2.0	1	1.0	2	2.0	8.7	9
30.0-39.9	61	6	9.8	22	36.1	19	31.1	13	21.3			1	1.6			10.6	5
40.0-49.9	37	2	5.4	10	27.0	11	29.7	8	21.6	4	10.8	1	2.7	1	2.7	12.9	4
50.0-59.9	39	2	5.1	12	30.8	12	30.8	10	25.6	2	5.1	1	2.6			12.3	3
60.0-69.9	25	1	4.0	4	16.0	7	28.0	7	28.0	6	24.0					15.3	1
70.0-79.9	18			3	16.7	6	33.3	7	38.9					2	11.1	15.0	2
80.0-89.9	25			2	8.0	3	12.0	12	48.0	4	16.0	3	12.0	1	4.0	18.1	
90.0-100.0	13			1	7.7	3	23.1	3	23.1	3	23.1	1	7.7	2	15.3	19.2	
Not given																	1
Total	859	281	32.7	242	28.2	171	19.9	114	13.3	33	3.8	10	1.2	8	0.9	8.1	107

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Percent of all school enrollment in high school																							
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
0.0-9.9.....	435	102	23.4	88	20.2	59	13.6	47	10.8	47	10.8	31	7.1	22	5.1	11	2.5	5	1.1	5	1.1	18	4.1	24.7	68
10.0-19.9.....	108	9	8.3	20	18.5	23	21.3	22	20.4	4	3.7	11	10.2	6	5.6	5	4.6	2	1.8	2	1.8	4	3.7	30.9	14
20.0-29.9.....	98	5	5.1	11	11.2	15	15.3	19	19.4	22	22.4	9	9.2	7	7.1	4	4.1	2	2.0	1	1.0	3	3.0	39.5	9
30.0-39.9.....	61	1	1.6	2	3.3	9	14.7	11	18.0	10	16.3	12	19.7	3	4.9	6	9.8	3	3.3	3	4.9	2	3.3	47.5	5
40.0-49.9.....	37	1	2.7			5	13.5	6	16.2	4	10.8	2	5.4	5	13.5	4	10.8	4	10.8	1	2.7	5	13.5	61.0	4
50.0-59.9.....	39			1	2.6	5	12.8	6	15.4	9	23.1	3	7.7	5	12.8	2	5.1	2	5.1	1	2.6	5	12.8	48.3	3
60.0-69.9.....	25			1	4.0			1	4.0	8	32.0	2	8.0	7	28.0			1	4.0			5	20.0	60.7	1
70.0-79.9.....	18							3	16.6	1	5.6	6	33.3	4	22.2	1	5.6	2	11.1			1	5.6	58.3	2
80.0-89.9.....	25					1	4.0			6	24.0	2	8.0	1	4.0	6	24.0	2	8.0	3	12.0	4	16.0	74.2	
90.0-100.0.....	13									2	15.4	2	15.4	2	15.4	2	15.4	2	15.4	1	7.6	2	15.4	72.5	
Not given.....																									1
Total.....	859	118	13.7	123	14.3	117	13.6	115	13.4	113	13.1	80	9.3	62	7.2	41	4.8	24	2.8	17	2.0	49	5.7	36.2	107

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Average salary—Negro high-school teachers															Median	Not given
		Under \$400		\$400-\$499		\$500-\$599		\$600-\$699		\$700-\$799		\$800-\$899		\$900 and over				
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
0.0-9.9	253	14	5.6	36	14.2	52	20.6	68	26.9	46	18.1	21	8.3	16	6.3	\$636	250	
10.0-19.9	94	3	3.2	15	16.0	22	23.4	20	21.3	18	19.1	12	12.8	4	4.2	635	28	
20.0-29.9	82			8	9.7	15	18.3	22	26.8	18	22.0	8	9.7	11	13.4	682	25	
30.0-39.9	53	1	1.9	2	3.8	14	26.4	13	24.5	14	26.4	8	15.1	1	1.9	673	13	
40.0-49.9	22	1	4.5	1	4.5	4	18.2	8	36.4	4	18.2	2	9.1	2	9.1	663	19	
50.0-59.9	30			1	3.3	6	20.0	5	16.7	8	26.7	7	23.3	3	10.0	738	12	
60.0-69.9	21	1	4.8	1	4.8	4	19.0	4	19.0	4	19.0	4	19.0	3	14.3	713	5	
70.0-79.9	16							4	25.0	2	12.5	6	37.5	4	25.0	833	4	
80.0-89.9	23			1	4.3	2	8.7			4	17.4	5	21.7	11	47.8	890	2	
90.0-100.0	11									1	9.1	2	18.2	8	72.7	900+	2	
Total	605	20	3.3	65	10.7	119	19.7	144	23.8	119	19.7	75	12.4	63	10.4	668	360	

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Average salaries of high-school teachers																	
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
0.0-9.9	253	17	6.6	40	15.8	53	20.9	53	20.9	52	20.6	17	6.7	10	4.0	11	4.3	63.1	250
10.0-19.9	95	9	9.4	15	15.8	19	20.0	24	25.2	13	13.7	8	8.4	3	3.2	4	4.2	61.9	27
20.0-29.9	82	3	3.7	12	14.6	17	20.7	18	21.9	17	20.7	11	13.4	3	3.7	1	1.2	65.0	25
30.0-39.9	53	3	5.7	8	15.1	8	15.1	17	32.1	11	20.7	5	9.4			1	1.9	64.4	13
40.0-49.9	22	1	4.5	3	13.6	4	18.2	6	27.3	4	18.2	4	18.2					65.0	19
50.0-59.9	30	3	10.0	3	10.0	6	20.0	8	26.7	3	10.0	3	10.0	4	13.3			63.7	12
60.0-69.9	21	1	4.8	3	14.3	7	33.3	2	9.5	4	19.0	2	9.5	1	4.8	1	4.8	59.3	5
70.0-79.9	16			1	6.2	2	12.5	4	25.0	6	37.5	1	6.2	1	6.2	1	6.2	71.7	4
80.0-89.9	23	2	8.7	2	8.7	4	17.4	6	26.1	6	26.1	3	13.0					65.8	2
90.0-100.0	11					1	9.0	2	18.2	4	36.4	2	18.2	2	18.2			76.3	2
Not given																			1
Total	606	39	6.5	87	14.3	121	20.0	140	23.1	120	19.8	56	9.2	24	4.0	19	3.1	64.0	360

TABLE D-11.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training																								Median	Not given
		Under 30.0		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-74.9		75.0-79.9		80.0-84.9		85.0-89.9		90.0-94.9		95.0-100.0					
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		
0.0-9.9	221	33	14.9	15	6.8	23	10.4	12	5.4	25	11.3	8	3.6	16	7.2	11	5.0	20	9.0	20	9.0	38	17.1	71.7	282		
10.0-19.0	58	6	10.3	5	8.6	7	12.1	3	5.1	7	12.1	2	3.4	2	3.4	5	8.6	3	5.1	5	8.6	13	22.4	72.5	64		
20.0-29.9	69	5	7.2	6	8.7	6	8.7	6	8.7	6	8.7	5	7.2	2	2.9	3	4.3	3	4.3	4	5.8	23	33.3	76.2	38		
30.0-39.9	38	2	5.3	1	2.6	2	5.3	6	15.8	6	15.8	1	2.6			5	13.1	2	5.3	3	7.9	10	26.3	81.0	28		
40.0-49.9	19	1	5.3			2	10.5			1	5.3			3	15.7	1	5.3	1	5.3	3	15.7	7	36.8	90.8	22		
50.0-59.9	22					1	4.5	3	13.6	1	4.5	2	9.1	1	4.5	4	18.2	3	13.6	5	22.7	2	9.1	83.7	20		
60.0-69.9	15			2	13.3					1	6.7			1	6.7	1	6.7	1	6.7	4	26.6	5	33.3	91.9	11		
70.0-79.9	6									1	16.6	1	16.6	2	33.3					1	16.6	1	16.6	77.5	14		
80.0-89.9	19							1	5.3							1	5.3	1	5.3	3	15.7	13	68.4	96.3	6		
90.0-100.0	10											1	10.0							1	10.0	8	80.0	96.3	3		
Not given																									1		
Total	477	47	9.8	29	6.1	41	8.6	31	6.5	48	10.1	20	4.2	27	5.6	31	6.5	34	7.1	49	10.3	120	25.2	79.2	489		

TABLE D-12.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of teachers with 2 or more years of college training and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Percent of teachers with 2 or more years of college training																		Median	Not given
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over					
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
0.0-9.9	221	37	16.6	14	6.3	15	6.8	19	8.6	23	10.4	29	13.1	38	17.1	46	20.8	80.7	282		
10.0-19.9	59	9	15.2	4	6.8	5	8.5	3	5.1	4	6.8	12	20.3	8	13.6	14	23.7	83.7	63		
20.0-29.9	69	6	8.6	5	7.2	5	7.2	3	4.3	8	11.6	8	11.6	15	21.7	19	27.5	89.4	38		
30.0-39.9	38	2	5.2	2	5.2	1	2.6	7	18.4	2	5.3	5	13.2	11	28.9	8	21.0	90.0	28		
40.0-49.9	19	1	5.3			2	10.5	1	5.3	1	5.2	2	10.5	5	26.3	7	36.8	95.0	22		
50.0-59.9	22					2	9.1	1	4.5	2	9.1	4	18.2	6	27.3	7	31.8	93.3	20		
60.0-69.9	15			1	6.6	1	6.6			1	6.6			3	20.0	9	60.0	100.0+	11		
70.0-79.9	5											3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0		15		
80.0-89.9	19							1	5.3					8	42.1	10	52.6	100.0+	6		
90.0-100.0	10											1	10.0	1	10.0	8	80.0	100.0+	3		
Not given																			1		
Total	477	55	11.6	26	5.4	31	6.5	35	7.3	41	8.6	64	13.4	96	20.1	129	27.0	87.9	489		

TABLE D-13.—*Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and percent of Negro population that is urban*

Percent of Negro population that is urban	Total counties given	Number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19																						Median	Not given
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-99.9		100.0 and over			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
0.0-9.9	461	125	27.1	91	19.7	113	24.5	60	13.0	36	7.8	15	3.3	5	1.0	2	2.0	5	1.0	3	0.6			11.3	42
10.0-19.9	122	11	9.0	17	13.9	43	34.4	28	23.8	10	8.2	5	4.1	3	2.5	1	1.6	1	.8	1	.8	1	.8	17.9	
20.0-29.9	106	7	6.6	17	16.0	22	20.4	30	28.3	14	13.2	6	5.7	3	1.9	2	1.9							20.3	1
30.0-39.9	65	4	6.2	3	4.6	15	23.1	12	18.5	16	24.6	7	10.8	3	3.0	3	4.6							28.8	1
40.0-49.9	40			3	7.5	11	27.5	6	15.0	2	5.0	3	7.5	3	7.5	3	7.5	2	5.0	3	4.6			30.0	1
50.0-59.9	41	1	2.4			6	14.6	9	22.0	2	4.9	6	14.6	4	9.8	1	2.4	2	4.9	1	2.5	6	15.0		1
60.0-69.9	25					3	12.0	5	20.0	4	16.0	5	20.0	1	4.0	3	12.0	1	4.0	1	2.4	3	7.3	35.6	1
70.0-79.9	20					3	15.0	2	10.0	5	25.0	4	20.0	1	5.0	3	15.0			1	5.0	1	5.0	41.0	1
80.0-89.9	25					1	4.0	1	4.0	4	16.0	1	4.0	1	4.0	5	20.0	3	12.0	6	24.0	3	12.0	69.0	
90.0-100.0	13									1	7.7			2	15.4			5	38.4	3	23.1	2	15.4	77.0	
Total	918	148	16.1	131	14.3	222	24.2	154	16.8	100	10.9	52	5.6	24	2.6	30	3.2	19	2.1	20	2.2	18	2.0	18.1	47

TABLE E-1.—*Distribution of counties according to Plane of Living Index and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Plane of Living Index																				
		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		80-89		90-99		100-109		110-119		120 and over		Median
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	22			1	4.5	4	18.2	1	4.5	2	9.1	3	13.6	3	13.6	5	22.7			3	13.6	90.0
II. One Negro college in county	66			8	12.1	11	16.6	8	12.1	11	16.6	15	22.7	9	13.6	1	1.5	2	3.0	1	1.5	75.4
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	298	12	4.0	60	20.1	65	21.8	42	14.1	38	12.7	34	11.4	17	5.7	13	4.3	7	2.3	10	3.3	63.0
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	579	15	2.6	116	20.0	134	23.1	106	18.3	72	12.4	56	9.7	28	4.8	21	3.6	10	1.7	21	3.6	62.3
Total	965	27	2.8	185	19.2	214	22.2	157	16.3	123	12.7	108	11.2	57	5.9	40	4.1	19	2.0	35	3.6	63.6

TABLE E-2.—*Distribution of counties according to percent Negroes are of county population and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Percent Negroes are of county population																		
		Under 10.0		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		Median
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	22			2	9.2	7	31.5	3	13.6	5	22.7	1	4.5	2	9.1	2	9.1			36.7
II. One Negro college in county	66	2	3.0	11	16.7	11	16.7	15	22.7	9	13.5	10	15.2	5	7.6	2	3.0	1	1.5	36.0
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	299	28	9.3	49	16.3	51	17.0	42	14.0	45	15.0	31	10.4	29	9.7	22	7.4	2	.7	35.1
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	579	103	17.8	112	19.3	100	17.2	106	18.3	75	12.9	40	6.9	28	4.8	13	2.2	2	.3	27.5
Total	966	133	13.8	174	18.0	169	17.5	166	17.2	134	13.9	82	8.5	64	6.6	39	4.0	5	.5	30.4

TABLE E-3.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro population that is urban and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Percent of Negro population that is urban																						Percent of counties having some urban population
		0.0		0.1-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-100.0		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	22	2	9.1	1	4.5	2	9.1	3	13.6	2	9.1	1	4.5	1	4.5	2	9.1	2	9.1	2	9.1	4	18.1	90.7
II. One Negro college in county	66	11	16.7	2	3.0	9	13.6	8	12.1	6	9.1	6	9.1	7	10.6	4	6.1	4	6.1	7	10.6	2	3.0	83.3
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	299	152	51.0	29	9.7	42	14.0	36	12.0	13	4.3	6	2.0	9	3.0	4	1.3	3	1.0	3	1.0	2	.7	49.0
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	578	274	47.4	32	5.5	69	11.9	60	10.4	45	7.8	28	4.8	25	4.3	16	2.8	11	1.9	13	2.2	5	.9	52.5
Total	965	439	45.5	64	6.6	122	12.6	107	11.1	66	6.8	41	4.2	42	4.4	26	2.7	20	2.1	25	2.6	13	1.3	54.4

TABLE E-4.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants																					
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	18					1	5.5			1	5.5			2	11.1	6	33.3	5	27.8	3	16.7	78.3	4
II. One Negro college in county	57	1	1.8	4	7.0	2	3.5	6	10.5	4	7.0	3	5.3	7	12.3	13	22.8	16	28.0	1	1.8	71.1	9
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	256	3	1.2	10	3.9	10	3.9	9	3.5	18	7.0	23	9.0	35	13.7	44	17.2	74	28.9	30	11.7	74.5	43
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	444	10	2.2	21	4.7	22	4.9	18	4.0	28	6.3	37	8.3	70	15.8	65	14.6	103	23.2	70	15.8	72.5	135
Total	775	14	1.8	35	4.5	35	4.5	33	4.3	51	6.6	63	8.1	114	14.7	128	16.5	198	25.5	104	13.4	73.3	191

TABLE E-5.—*Distribution of counties according to average length of Negro school term and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Average length of Negro school term (in days)																				Median	Not given
		Under 130		130-139		140-149		150-159		160-164		165-169		170-174		175-179		180 and over					
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	20	1	5.0	1	5.0	4	20.0	2	10.0	3	15.0	-----	-----	2	10.0	4	20.0	3	15.0	163.3	2		
II. One Negro college in county	59	2	3.4	4	6.8	8	13.5	6	10.2	12	20.3	9	15.2	5	8.5	7	11.9	6	10.2	163.9	7		
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	268	21	7.9	34	12.7	60	22.4	43	16.0	59	22.0	19	7.1	10	3.7	10	3.7	12	4.5	154.4	31		
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	507	19	3.7	44	8.7	109	21.5	109	21.5	105	20.7	32	6.3	33	6.5	35	6.9	21	4.1	157.5	72		
Total-----	854	43	5.1	83	9.7	181	21.2	160	18.7	179	21.0	60	7.0	50	5.8	56	6.6	42	4.9	157.5	112		

TABLE E-6.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average length of school term and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	N/W ratio—Average length of school term											
		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	20			2	10.0	4	20.0	5	25.0	9	45.0	98.0	2
II. One Negro college in county	59			7	11.8	9	15.3	23	39.0	20	33.9	95.9	7
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	268	12	4.5	34	12.7	77	28.7	82	30.6	63	23.5	91.3	31
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	506	5	1.0	43	8.5	143	28.2	142	28.1	173	34.2	94.3	73
Total	853	17	2.0	86	10.1	233	27.3	252	29.5	265	31.1	93.6	113

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled																					
		\$2.50- \$4.99		\$5-\$7.49		\$7.50- \$9.99		\$10-\$12.49		\$12.50- \$14.99		\$15-\$19.99		\$20-\$24.99		\$25-\$29.99		\$30-\$39.99		\$40 and over		Me- dian	Not giv- en
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
I. Two or more colleges in county-----	12	---	-----	2	16.7	1	8.3	1	8.3	3	25.0	1	8.3	1	8.3	1	8.3	1	8.3	1	8.3	\$14.17	10
II. One Negro college in county-----	34	---	-----	1	2.9	6	17.6	5	14.7	4	11.8	7	20.6	7	20.6	2	5.9	2	5.9	---	-----	15.71	32
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county-----	149	4	2.7	17	11.4	24	16.1	22	14.8	28	18.8	23	15.4	10	6.7	9	6.0	6	4.0	6	4.0	13.17	150
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county-----	214	1	.5	17	7.9	32	15.0	30	14.0	26	12.1	51	23.8	26	12.1	8	3.7	13	6.1	10	4.7	15.10	365
Total-----	409	5	1.2	37	9.0	63	15.4	58	14.2	61	14.9	82	20.0	44	10.8	20	4.9	22	5.4	17	4.2	14.20	557

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Current expenditures per pupil enrolled																							
		Under 20.0		20.0– 29.9		30.0– 39.9		40.0– 49.9		50.0– 59.9		60.0– 69.9		70.0– 79.9		80.0– 89.9		90.0– 99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
I. Two or more colleges in county.....	12	2	16.7	3	25.0	1	8.3	2	16.7	2	16.7	---	---	1	8.3	1	8.3	---	---	---	---	40.0	10		
II. One Negro college in county.....	34	7	20.6	5	14.7	9	26.4	4	11.8	3	8.8	4	11.8	2	5.9	---	---	---	---	---	---	35.6	32		
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county.....	149	38	25.5	28	18.8	21	14.1	23	15.4	21	14.1	9	6.0	5	3.4	---	---	---	---	4	2.7	34.0	150		
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county.....	215	17	7.9	47	21.8	39	18.1	41	19.1	30	14.0	14	6.5	11	5.1	4	1.9	4	1.9	8	3.7	41.1	304		
Total.....	410	64	15.6	83	20.2	70	17.1	70	17.1	56	13.7	27	6.6	19	4.6	5	1.2	4	1.0	12	2.9	38.3	556		

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school																
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-14.9		15.0-19.9		20.0-24.9		25.0-29.9		30.0 and over		Median	Not given	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	20	3	15.0	3	15.0	6	30.0	7	35.0					1	5.0	13.3	2	
II. One Negro college in county	62	7	11.3	16	25.8	16	25.8	18	29.0	3	4.8	1	1.6	1	1.6	12.5	4	
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	273	95	34.8	83	30.4	54	19.8	31	11.3	7	2.6	1	.4	2	.7	7.5	26	
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	504	176	34.9	140	27.8	95	18.8	58	11.5	23	4.6	8	1.6	4	.8	7.7	75	
Total	859	281	32.7	242	28.2	171	19.9	114	13.3	33	3.8	10	1.2	8	.9	8.0	107	

TABLE E-10.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent of all school enrollment in high school and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Percent of all school enrollment in high school																							
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	20			3	15.0	1	5.0	1	5.0	5	25.0	5	25.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	1	5.0					50.0	2
II. One Negro college in county	62	2	3.2	6	9.7	8	12.9	8	12.9	10	16.1	5	8.1	8	12.9	5	8.1	2	3.2	3	4.8	5	8.1	47.0	4
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	273	35	12.8	50	18.3	30	11.0	49	17.9	41	15.0	25	9.2	14	5.1	6	2.2	6	2.2	6	2.2	11	4.0	34.4	26
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	504	81	16.1	64	12.7	78	15.5	57	11.3	57	11.3	45	8.9	38	7.5	28	5.6	15	3.0	8	1.6	33	6.5	35.1	75
Total	859	118	13.7	123	14.3	117	13.6	115	13.4	113	13.1	80	9.3	62	7.2	41	4.8	24	2.8	17	2.0	49	5.7	36.2	107

TABLE E-11.—*Distribution of counties according to average salaries of Negro high-school teachers and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro Colleges	Total counties given	Average salaries of Negro high-school teachers																Me- dian	Not given
		Under \$400		\$400-\$499		\$500-\$599		\$600-\$699		\$700-\$799		\$800-\$899		\$900 and over					
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county . .	19	-----	-----	1	5.3	3	15.8	2	10.5	3	15.8	2	10.5	8	42.1	\$825	3		
II. One Negro college in county	56	1	1.8	9	16.1	8	14.3	8	14.3	9	16.1	10	17.6	11	19.6	712	10		
III. One or more Negro colleges in an ad- jacent county	211	6	2.8	28	13.3	49	23.2	54	25.6	33	15.6	21	9.9	20	9.5	642	88		
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	319	13	4.0	27	8.5	59	18.5	80	25.1	74	23.2	42	13.1	24	7.5	676	260		
Total	605	20	3.3	65	10.7	119	19.7	144	23.8	119	19.7	75	12.4	63	10.4	668	361		

TABLE E-12.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Average salaries of high-school teachers and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Average salaries of high-school teachers																	
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	19	1	5.3	1	5.3	6	31.5	2	10.5	6	31.5	2	10.5	1	5.3	-----	-----	67.5	3
II. One Negro college in county	56	7	12.5	10	17.8	10	17.8	11	19.6	10	17.8	7	12.5	1	1.8	-----	-----	60.9	10
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	211	15	7.1	36	17.1	45	21.3	49	23.2	42	19.9	12	5.7	8	3.8	4	1.9	61.9	88
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	320	16	5.0	40	12.5	60	18.7	78	24.4	62	19.4	35	10.9	14	4.4	15	4.7	65.6	259
Total	606	39	6.5	87	14.3	121	20.0	140	23.1	120	19.8	56	9.2	24	4.0	19	3.1	64.0	360

TABLE E-13.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training																							
		Under 30.0		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-74.9		75.0-79.9		80.0-84.9		85.0-89.9		90.0-94.9		95.0-100.0		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county.....	11	1	9.1							1	9.1	1	9.1			1	9.1					7	63.6	96.1	11
II. One Negro college in county.....	37	1	2.7	2	5.4	1	2.7	1	2.7	4	10.8			3	8.1	4	10.8	1	2.7	6	16.2	14	37.8	91.3	29
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county.....	170	22	12.9	12	7.0	16	9.4	10	5.9	11	6.5	8	4.7	10	5.9	12	7.0	12	7.0	21	12.4	36	21.2	78.0	129
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county.....	259	23	8.9	15	5.8	24	9.3	20	7.7	32	12.4	11	4.2	14	5.4	14	5.4	21	8.1	22	8.5	63	24.3	76.6	320
Total.....	477	47	9.8	29	6.1	41	8.6	31	6.5	48	10.1	20	4.2	27	5.6	31	6.5	34	7.1	49	10.3	120	25.2	79.1	489

TABLE E-14.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Percent teachers with 2 or more years of college training and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total coun- ties given	Ratio N/W—Percent teachers with 2 or more years of college training																	
		Under 40.0		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Me- dian	Not given
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	10	1	10.0									1	10.0	1	10.0	7	70.0	100.0+	12
II. One Negro college in county	37	2	5.4	1	2.7	2	5.4	2	5.4	2	5.4	6	16.2	8	21.6	14	37.8	94.4	29
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	170	26	15.2	12	7.1	10	5.9	12	7.1	11	6.5	21	12.3	40	23.5	38	22.4	86.7	129
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	260	26	9.9	13	5.0	19	7.3	21	8.1	28	10.8	36	13.8	47	18.1	70	26.9	86.4	319
Total	477	55	11.6	26	5.4	31	6.5	35	7.3	41	8.6	64	13.4	96	20.1	129	27.0	87.9	489

TABLE E-15.—*Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

Location of county with respect to Negro colleges	Total counties given	Number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19																							
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
I. Two or more Negro colleges in county	22	---	---	1	4.5	1	4.5	3	13.6	2	9.1	1	4.5	3	13.6	3	13.6	1	4.5	5	22.7	2	9.1	60.0	---
II. One Negro college in county	66	---	---	---	---	11	16.6	11	16.6	11	16.6	7	10.6	4	6.1	5	7.6	4	6.1	7	10.6	6	9.1	40.0	---
III. One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county	286	48	16.8	42	14.7	78	27.3	57	19.9	28	9.8	13	4.5	7	2.4	3	1.0	5	1.7	3	1.0	2	0.7	16.8	13
IV. No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	544	100	18.4	88	16.2	132	24.3	83	15.2	59	10.8	31	5.7	10	1.8	19	3.5	9	1.7	5	0.9	8	1.5	16.4	35
Total	918	148	16.1	131	14.3	222	24.2	154	16.8	100	10.9	52	5.6	24	2.6	30	3.2	19	2.1	20	2.2	18	2.0	18.1	48

TABLE F-1.—*Distribution of counties according to Negro-white ratio: Current expenditure per pupil enrolled and current expenditures per Negro pupil enrolled*

Current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled	Total counties given	Ratio N/W—Current expenditure per pupil enrolled																				Median ratio
		Under 20.0		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
\$2.50-\$4.99	5	5	100.0											1	2.7			1	2.7			17.0
\$5.00-\$7.49	37	26	70.3	8	21.6	1	2.7															23.3
\$7.50-\$9.99	63	22	34.9	29	46.0	9	14.3	2	3.2	1	1.6											28.
\$10.00-\$12.49	58	8	13.8	24	41.4	19	32.8	6	10.3	1	1.7											40.3
\$12.50-\$14.99	61	3	4.9	15	24.6	12	19.7	20	32.8	8	13.1	3	4.9									49.4
\$15.00-\$19.99	82			7	8.5	18	22.0	17	20.7	23	28.0	10	12.0	6	7.3	1	1.2					52.7
\$20.00-\$24.99	44					8	18.2	11	25.0	11	25.0	10	22.7	3	6.8	1	2.3					48.0
\$25.00-\$29.99	20					2	10.0	10	50.0	3	15.0			4	20.0	1	5.0					58.6
\$30.00-\$39.99	22					1	4.5	4	18.2	7	31.8	4	18.2	4	18.2			1	4.5	1	4.5	100.0+
\$40.00 or more	17									2	11.8					2	11.8	2	11.8	11	64.6	
Total	409	64	15.7	83	20.3	70	17.1	70	17.1	56	13.7	27	6.6	18	4.4	5	1.2	4	1.0	12	2.9	38.2
Not given	557																					
Median expenditure			\$7.61		\$10.47		\$13.75		\$17.06		\$18.91		\$20.25		\$23.33		\$27.50		\$40.00		\$40.00+	

TABLE F-2.—*Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and percent of All Negro school enrollment in high school*

Percent of Negro school enrollment in high school	Total counties given	Number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19																							
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median number of college students	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
0.0-4.9	260	91	35.0	64	24.6	65	25.0	23	8.8	9	3.5	4	1.5	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.4	---	---	8.0	21
5.0-9.9	239	17	7.1	30	12.5	85	35.6	61	25.5	26	10.9	10	4.2	4	1.7	4	1.7	2	0.8	2	0.8	---	---	18.5	3
10.0-14.9	171	3	1.8	8	4.7	37	21.6	39	22.8	36	21.1	19	11.1	10	5.8	7	4.1	6	3.5	4	2.3	2	1.2	29.1	---
15.0-19.9	111	3	2.7	1	.9	11	9.9	26	23.4	13	11.7	14	12.6	7	6.3	10	9.0	7	6.3	11	9.9	8	7.2	41.1	3
20.0-24.9	28	---	---	---	---	1	3.6	1	3.6	8	28.6	5	17.8	---	---	4	14.3	5	17.8	---	---	4	14.3	48.0	5
25.0-29.9	10	---	---	---	---	1	10.0	---	---	2	20.0	---	---	1	10.0	2	20.0	---	---	2	25.0	4	40.0	65.0	---
30.0 or more	8	---	---	1	12.5	---	---	---	---	2	25.0	---	---	1	12.5	2	25.0	---	---	2	25.0	---	---	65.0	---
Total	827	114	13.8	104	12.6	200	24.2	150	18.1	96	11.6	52	6.3	24	2.9	30	3.6	19	2.3	20	2.4	18	2.2	19.8	32
Median percent enrollment in high school	8.2	---	3.1	---	4.1	---	7.1	---	9.3	---	11.8	---	12.9	---	13.5	---	16.5	---	16.8	---	16.4	---	19.4	---	---

TABLE F-3.—*Distribution of counties according to percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training and number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19*

Number of students in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19	Total counties given	Percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training																							
		Under 30.0		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-74.9		75.0-79.9		80.0-84.9		85.0-89.9		90.0-94.9		95.0-100.0		Median percent of teachers	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
0.0-4.9	55	13	23.6	5	9.1	7	12.7	4	7.3	7	12.7	2	3.6	3	5.5	5	9.1	1	1.8	2	3.6	6	10.9	56.3	93
5.0-9.9	57	11	19.3	6	10.5	13	22.8	4	7.0	4	7.0	2	3.5	3	5.3	2	3.5	4	7.0	4	7.0	4	7.0	48.8	74
10.0-19.9	114	14	12.3	15	13.1	8	7.0	9	7.9	13	11.4	2	1.8	6	5.3	8	7.0	12	10.5	9	7.9	18	15.8	68.5	108
20.0-29.9	94	6	6.4	2	2.1	9	9.6	11	11.7	9	9.6	5	5.3	5	5.3	8	8.5	8	8.5	6	6.4	25	26.6	80.0	60
30.0-39.9	60	2	3.3	1	1.7	3	5.0	2	3.3	6	10.0	6	10.0	5	8.3	4	6.7	5	8.3	11	18.3	15	25.0	86.0	40
40.0-49.9	29	1	3.4	1				1	3.4	5	17.2	1	3.4	3	10.3	1	3.4	1	3.4	5	17.2	11	37.9	91.5	23
50.0-59.9	13					1	7.7									1	7.7	3	23.0			4	30.8	91.9	11
60.0-69.9	17									3	17.6	1	5.9	1	5.9					2	11.8	10	58.8	95.8	13
70.0-79.9	15																			2	20.0	12	80.0	96.5	4
80.0-99.9	11									1	9.1	1	9.1			1	9.1			2	18.2	6	54.5	95.4	9
100.0 or more	9													1	11.1					1	11.1	7	77.8	96.8	9
Total	474	47	9.9	29	6.1	41	8.6	31	6.5	48	10.1	20	4.2	27	5.7	30	6.3	34	7.2	49	10.3	118	24.9	78.9	444
Median percent of students			9.8		12.3		10.6		18.3		20.0		28.0		23.0		20.0		20.0		33.2		34.0		

TABLE F-4.—*Distribution of counties according to number of Negroes enrolled in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 and percent of all gainfully employed Negro males in agriculture*

Percent of gainfully em- ployed Negro males in agriculture	Total counties given	Number of students in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-1																							
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
0.0-9.9	65	4	6.2	3	4.6	6	9.2	2	3.1	10	15.4	5	7.5	3	4.6	8	12.3	8	12.3	10	15.4	6	9.2	58.3	-----
10.0-19.9	46	4	8.7	2	4.3	7	15.2	6	13.0	9	19.6	5	10.9	3	6.5	2	4.3	3	6.5	5	10.9	3	4.3	34.4	7
20.0-29.9	46	6	13.0	2	4.3	12	26.1	7	15.2	6	13.0	7	15.2	2	4.3	2	4.3	1	2.2	1	2.2	2	4.3	24.3	4
30.0-39.9	54	6	11.1	4	7.4	13	24.1	10	18.5	4	7.4	3	5.6	6	11.1	3	5.6	1	1.8	2	3.7	2	3.7	24.0	1
40.0-49.9	86	13	15.1	4	4.6	16	18.6	20	23.3	15	17.4	6	7.0	3	3.5	3	3.5	3	3.5	3	3.5	3	3.5	25.0	6
50.0-59.9	105	6	5.7	13	12.4	30	28.6	24	22.9	13	12.4	8	7.6	3	2.8	3	2.8	1	1.0	3	2.8	1	1.0	21.5	5
60.0-69.9	125	23	18.4	15	12.0	34	27.2	24	19.2	11	8.8	11	8.8	3	2.4	4	3.2	2	1.1	3	2.4	1	1.1	17.2	8
70.0-79.9	175	25	14.3	33	18.9	51	29.1	32	18.3	20	11.4	6	3.4	2	1.1	3	1.7	2	1.1	3	1.7	2	1.1	15.8	5
80.0-89.9	168	38	22.6	45	26.8	47	28.0	23	13.7	9	5.3	1	.6	2	1.2	1	.6	1	.6	1	.6	1	.6	10.2	4
90.0-99.9	47	22	46.8	10	21.2	6	12.8	6	12.8	3	6.4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	5.8	3
Total	917	147	16.0	131	14.3	222	24.2	154	16.8	100	10.9	52	5.7	24	2.6	30	3.3	19	2.1	20	2.2	18	1.9	18.1	43

TABLE F-5.—*Distribution of counties according to average value of farms operated by Negro farm operators and percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants*

Percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants	Total counties given	Average value of farms operated by Negro farm operators												Median value of farms
		Under \$500		\$500-\$999		\$1,000-\$1,499		\$1,500-\$1,999		\$2,000-\$2,499		\$2,500 and over		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
0.0-9.9	14	1	7.1	7	50.0	5	35.7					1	7.1	\$929
10.0-19.9	35	2	5.7	19	54.3	8	22.8	3	8.6	3	8.6			908
20.0-29.9	35	3	8.6	23	65.7	6	17.1	1	2.9			2	5.7	815
30.0-39.9	33	2	6.1	19	57.6	7	21.2	3	9.1	1	3.0	1	3.0	880
40.0-49.9	51	4	7.8	21	41.2	15	29.4	7	13.7	2	3.9	2	3.9	1,017
50.0-59.9	63	1	1.6	32	50.8	18	28.6	4	6.3	5	7.9	3	4.8	977
60.0-69.9	114	7	6.1	53	46.5	37	32.5	10	8.8	2	1.7	5	4.4	972
70.0-79.9	128	7	5.5	56	43.8	40	31.3	20	15.6	3	2.3	2	1.5	1,013
80.0-89.9	198	10	5.1	104	52.5	60	30.3	16	8.1	4	2.0	4	2.0	928
90.0-99.9	104	5	4.8	52	50.0	34	32.7	9	8.7	4	3.8			952
Total	775	42	5.4	386	49.8	230	29.7	73	9.4	24	3.1	20	2.6	948
Median percent operators who are tenants	73.3		71.4		73.4		74.8		74.3		65.0		62.0	

TABLE F-6.—*Distribution of counties according to current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled and Modern Conveniences Index*

Modern Conveniences Index	Total counties given	Current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled																						
		\$2.50- \$4.99		\$5-\$7.49		\$7.50- \$9.99		\$10- \$12.49		\$12.50- \$14.99		\$15- \$19.99		\$20- \$24.99		\$25- \$29.99		\$30- \$39.99		\$40 and over		Median current expenditure	Not given	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
20-29	15	3	20.0	4	26.7	2	13.3	4	26.7	2	13.3												\$8.13	48
30-39	118	1	.8	25	21.2	28	23.7	24	20.3	18	15.3	15	12.7	5	4.2	1	0.8	1	0.8				10.52	105
40-49	108			8	7.4	20	18.5	17	15.7	21	19.4	26	24.1	10	9.2	2	1.9	2	1.9	2	1.9		13.57	95
50-59	56	1	1.8			10	17.9	11	19.6	7	12.5	20	35.7	3	5.4	4	7.1						14.64	97
60-69	34					2	5.9			7	20.6	13	38.2	6	17.6	3	8.8			3	8.8		18.08	72
70-79	22						4.5	2	9.1	2	9.1	4	18.2	4	18.2	4	18.2	3	13.6				22.50	56
80-89	29					1				4	13.8	2	6.9	9	31.0	3	10.3	9	31.0	3	6.9		24.72	40
90-99	15											2	13.3	6	40.0			4	26.7	3	20.0		24.58	24
100-109	5															2	40.0	1	20.0	2	40.0			8
110 or more	7														1	14.3	1	14.3	2	28.6	3	42.8		11
Total	409	5	1.2	37	9.0	63	15.4	58	14.2	61	14.9	82	20.0	44	10.8	20	4.9	22	5.4	17	4.2	14.20	556	
Median Conveniences Index					25.8		40.7		40.6		45.0				66.7		70.0		85.6		87.5			

TABLE S-1.—*Distribution of counties by States and county types*

State	Total counties typed	Counties with 5 percent or more Negroes	County type																						
			Basic economy						Industrialization						Urbanization										
			Nonfarm		Farm: other than cotton		Farm: Cotton		Nonfarm		Industrial farm		Nonindustrial farm		Metro-politan		Other nonfarm		Farm: City, 10,000-24,999 population		Farm: Town, 2,500-9,999 population		Rural		
			Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	Total counties	Counties with 5 percent Negroes	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
Alabama.....	67	61	3	3	1	1	63	57	3	3	24	23	40	35	3	3			8	8	23	20	33	30	
Arkansas.....	75	45	3	3	3	1	64	41	3	3	28	15	44	27	2	2	1	1	5	4	36	25	31	13	
Delaware.....	3	3	1	1	2	2			1	1	2	2			1	1					1	1	1	1	
District of Columbia.....	1	1	1	1					1	1					1	1									
Florida.....	67	66	24	24	32	32	11	10	24	24	29	29	14	13	7	7	17	17	4	4	15	15	24	23	
Georgia.....	161	148	14	14	23	17	124	117	14	14	67	63	80	71	5	5	9	9	5	5	42	41	100	88	
Kentucky.....	120	60	9	5	110	54	1	1	9	5	38	18	73	37	6	3	3	3	2	5	5	29	24	77	26
Louisiana.....	64	64	8	8	19	19	37	37	8	8	20	20	36	36	4	4	4	4	3	3	27	27	26	26	
Maryland.....	23	19	5	3	18	16			5	3	12	10	6	6	3	1	2	2	2	2	9	8	7	6	
Mississippi.....	82	82	6	6	3	3	73	73	6	6	17	17	59	59	2	2	4	4	8	8	22	22	46	46	
North Carolina.....	100	86	10	10	61	47	29	29	10	10	50	45	40	31	7	7	3	3	13	13	32	31	45	32	
Oklahoma.....	25	25	4	4	3	3	18	18	4	4	12	12	9	9	3	3	1	1	4	4	12	12	5	5	
South Carolina.....	46	46	4	4	5	5	37	37	4	4	20	20	22	22	4	4			5	5	22	22	15	15	
Tennessee.....	95	57	5	5	69	35	21	17	5	5	32	17	58	35	5	5			2	1	34	26	54	25	
Texas.....	104	104	12	12	3	3	89	89	12	12	42	42	50	50	10	10	2	2	10	10	46	46	36	36	
Virginia.....	100	84	12	12	86	70	2	2	12	12	35	25	53	47	6	6	6	6	5	5	17	14	66	53	
West Virginia.....	15	15	9	9	6	6			9	9	6	6			2	2	7	7	1	1	1	4		4	
Total.....	1,148	966	130	124	449	314	569	528	130	124	434	364	584	478	71	66	59	58	80	78	368	335	570	429	

TABLE S-2.—*Distribution of counties by States and percent of change in Negro population: 1920-1930*

State	Total number of counties	Percent change in Negro population: 1920-1930																										
		Decrease of—										Increase of—														Median percent	Not given	
		40.0 or over		30.0-39.9		20.0-29.9		10.0-19.9		0.0-9.9		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0 and over						
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		
Alabama.....	61					4	6.5	6	9.8	17	27.9	25	41.0	4	6.5	2	3.3	2	3.3	1	1.6				1.4			
Arkansas.....	45			2	4.4	4	8.9	10	22.2	9	20.0	7	15.6	5	11.1	3	6.7	3	6.7	2	4.4				-2.8			
Delaware.....	3									1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3													
District of Columbia.....	1																											
Florida.....	66	4	6.1	3	4.5	4	6.1	8	12.1	6	9.1	2	3.0	8	12.1	2	3.0											
Georgia.....	148	14	9.4	18	12.2	24	16.2	29	19.6	30	20.3	16	10.8	3	2.0	6	4.0	1		7	1	7	1	7	7.5	13	19.7	
Kentucky.....	60			2	3.3	15	25.0	20	33.3	11	18.3	5	8.3	4	6.7	1	1.7								-14.7	5	3.4	
Louisiana.....	64	1	1.6	3	4.7	1	1.6	8	12.5	17	26.6	13	20.3	5	7.8	8	12.5	4	6.2	1	1.7	1	1.7	1	-13.5			
Maryland.....	19							5	26.3	9	47.3	1	5.3	2	10.5	1	5.3								1.5			
Mississippi.....	82			2	2.4			4	4.9	19	23.2	23	28.0	16	19.5	8	9.6	7	8.5	2	2.4	1	1.2		-5.0			
North Carolina.....	86					1	1.2	2	2.3	8	9.3	23	26.7	26	30.2	11	12.8	6	7.0	4	4.7	5	5.8	13.5	7.0			
Oklahoma.....	25	1	4.0			2	8.0	3	12.0	5	20.0	3	12.0	4	16.0	1	4.0								5.0			
South Carolina.....	46			1	2.2	6	13.0	14	30.4	15	32.6	6	13.0	3	6.5	1	2.2								-8.7			
Tennessee.....	57	2	3.5	1	1.8	10	17.5	17	29.8	8	14.0	10	17.5	4	7.0	3	5.3	1	1.8	1	1.8				-10.9			
Texas.....	104					6	5.8	14	13.5	23	22.1	19	18.2	15	14.4	8	7.7	5	4.8						3.9	3	2.9	
Virginia.....	84					12	14.3	24	28.5	30	35.7	11	13.1	4	4.8	3	3.6					11	10.6		-8.0			
West Virginia.....	15							1	6.7	1	6.7			2	13.3	4	26.6	1	6.7	2	13.3	4	26.6		-28.7			
Total.....	966	22	2.3	32	3.3	89	9.2	165	17.1	209	21.6	165	17.1	106	11.0	63	6.5	31	3.2	16	1.7	47	4.8	-2.1	21	2.2		

TABLE S-3.—Distribution of counties by States and percent that Negroes were of total county population in 1930

State	Total number of counties	Percent Negroes were of county population																		
		5.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		Median
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Alabama.....	61	4	6.6	11	18.0	11	18.0	9	14.8	8	13.1	7	11.5			8	13.1	3	4.9	30.5
Arkansas.....	45	6	13.3	6	13.3	7	15.6	9	20.0	8	17.8	2	4.4	6	13.3	1	2.2			33.9
Delaware.....	3			2	66.7	1	33.3													
District of Columbia.....	1					1	100.0													
Florida.....	66	1	1.5	12	18.2	20	30.3	21	31.8	8	12.1	3	4.5	1	1.5					30.0
Georgia.....	148	10	6.8	16	10.8	16	10.8	32	21.6	26	17.6	20	13.5	22	14.9	6	4.1			40.0
Kentucky.....	60	26	43.3	28	46.7	5	8.3	1	1.7											11.4
Louisiana.....	64	1	1.6	5	7.8	16	25.0	15	23.4	11	17.2	7	10.9	5	7.8	4	6.3			36.7
Maryland.....	19	1	5.3	4	21.1	6	31.6	6	31.6	2	10.5									27.5
Mississippi.....	82	2	2.4	7	8.5	13	15.9	12	14.6	13	15.9	11	13.4	8	9.6	14	17.1	2	2.4	45.4
North Carolina.....	86	10	11.6	15	17.4	10	11.6	20	23.3	22	25.6	6	7.0	3	3.5					34.0
Oklahoma.....	25	11	44.0	7	28.0	6	24.0	1	4.0											12.1
South Carolina.....	46			2	4.3	5	10.9	3	6.5	11	23.9	9	19.6	12	26.1	4	8.7			52.2
Tennessee.....	57	24	42.1	15	26.3	9	15.8	5	8.8	2	3.5			1	1.8	1	1.8			13.0
Texas.....	103	19	18.4	25	24.3	28	27.2	16	15.5	11	10.7	2	1.9	2	1.9					22.7
Virginia.....	84	7	8.3	14	16.7	16	19.0	15	17.9	12	14.3	15	17.9	4	4.8	1	1.2			33.3
West Virginia.....	15	9	60.0	5	33.3	1	6.7													8.3
Total.....	965	131	13.6	174	18.0	171	17.7	165	17.1	134	13.9	82	8.5	64	6.6	39	4.0	5	0.5	30.4

¹ Does not include King County in which there were fewer than 100 Negroes.

TABLE S-4.—Distribution of counties by States and percent of Negro population that was urban in 1930

State	Total Number of counties	Percent Negro population that was urban																						Percent of counties having some urban Negro population
		None		0.1-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-100		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Alabama.....	61	30	49.2	3	4.9	8	13.1	7	11.5	6	9.8	2	3.3	1	1.6	2	3.3	1	1.6	1	1.6			50.8
Arkansas.....	45	13	28.9	9	20.0	10	22.2	7	15.6	2	4.4	1	2.2			1	2.2			2	4.4			71.1
Delaware.....	3			1	33.3			1	33.3									1	33.3					100.0
District of Columbia.....	1																					1	100.0	
Florida.....	66	29	43.9	2	3.0	1	1.5	8	12.1	6	9.1	1	1.5	6	9.1	6	9.1	2	3.0	2	3.0	3	4.5	56.1
Georgia.....	148	89	60.1	6	4.0	14	9.5	13	8.8	7	4.7	5	3.4	4	2.7	3	2.0	5	3.4	2	1.4			39.9
Kentucky.....	60	26	43.3			3	5.0	4	6.7	5	8.3	7	11.7	7	11.7	2	3.3	3	5.0	2	3.3	1	1.7	56.7
Louisiana.....	64	28	43.8	4	6.2	11	17.2	9	14.1	4	6.2	4	6.2	2	3.1	1	1.6					1	1.6	56.2
Maryland.....	19	6	31.6	3	15.8	5	26.3	3	15.8	1	5.2											1	5.2	68.4
Mississippi.....	82	46	56.1	4	4.9	13	15.9	8	9.6	3	3.7	3	3.7	2	2.4	1	1.2	2	2.4					43.9
North Carolina.....	86	33	38.4	7	8.1	15	17.4	9	10.5	8	9.3	3	3.5	2	2.3	4	4.7	3	3.5	2	2.3			61.6
Oklahoma.....	25	5	20.0	3	12.0	4	16.0	3	12.0	2	8.0	5	20.0	1	4.0					2	8.0			80.0
South Carolina.....	46	14	30.4	8	17.4	15	32.6	5	10.9	2	4.3			2	4.3									69.6
Tennessee.....	57	25	43.9	1	1.7	3	5.3	9	15.8	6	10.5	1	1.7	5	8.8	2	3.5	1	1.7	3	5.3	1	1.7	56.1
Texas.....	103	36	35.0	6	5.8	15	14.5	14	13.6	12	11.7	4	3.9	4	3.9	2	1.9	1	1.0	5	4.8	4	3.9	65.0
Virginia.....	84	54	64.3	3	3.6	3	3.6	7	8.3	3	3.6	3	3.6	4	4.7	2	2.4	1	1.2	4	4.7			35.7
West Virginia.....	15	4	26.7	3	20.0	1	6.6					3	20.0	2	13.3	1	6.6					1	6.6	73.3
Total.....	965	438	45.4	63	6.5	121	12.5	107	11.1	67	6.9	42	4.4	42	4.4	27	2.8	20	2.1	25	2.6	13	1.3	54.6

¹ Does not include King County in which there were fewer than 100 Negroes.

TABLE S-5.—*Distribution of counties by States and Plane of Living Index*

State	Total number of counties	Plane of Living Index																				Median
		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-79		80-89		90-99		100-109		110-119		120 and over		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Alabama	61	6	9.8	33	54.1	19	31.1	2	3.3	1	1.6											47.4
Arkansas	45	1	2.2	19	42.2	18	40.0	3	6.7	3	6.7	1	2.2							1	33.3	51.4
Delaware	3													2	66.7							
District of Columbia	1																					
Florida	66			8	12.1	5	7.6	11	16.7	15	22.7	7	10.6	6	9.1	7	10.6	2	3.0	1	7.6	76.0
Georgia	148	9	6.1	36	24.3	50	33.8	34	23.0	13	8.8	3	2.0	2	1.3	1	.7					55.8
Kentucky	60			2	3.3	10	16.7	12	20.0	12	20.0	8	13.3	8	13.3	1	1.7	3	5.0	4	6.7	75.0
Louisiana	64	1	1.6	18	28.1	14	21.9	10	15.6	3	4.7	6	9.4	4	6.2	1	1.6	2	3.1	5	7.8	59.3
Maryland	19									1	5.2	3	15.8	3	15.8	6	31.6	1	5.2	5	26.3	104.2
Mississippi	82	6	7.3	39	47.6	27	32.9	7	8.5	1	1.2			1	1.2	1	1.2					49.0
North Carolina	86					12	13.9	20	23.3	19	22.1	18	20.9	9	10.5	3	3.5	3	3.5	2	2.3	75.8
Oklahoma	25	2	8.0	4	16.0	4	16.0	5	20.0	2	8.0	5	20.0	1	4.0			2	8.0			65.0
South Carolina	46	1	2.2	16	34.8	17	37.0	9	19.5	3	6.5											53.5
Tennessee	57			4	7.0	10	17.5	20	35.1	11	19.3	11	19.3			1	1.8					67.3
Texas	103	1	1.0	8	7.8	25	24.3	16	15.5	14	13.6	15	14.5	6	5.8	9	8.7	1	1.0	8	7.8	71.1
Virginia	84					1	1.2	4	4.7	20	23.8	28	33.3	12	14.3	11	13.1	4	4.7	4	4.7	86.1
West Virginia	15					1	6.7	3	20.0	4	26.7	5	33.3	2	13.3							78.7
Total	965	27	2.8	187	19.4	213	22.1	156	16.2	122	12.6	110	11.4	56	5.8	41	4.2	18	1.9	35	3.6	63.6

¹ Does not include Gregg County for which the Plane of Living Index was "not given."

TABLE S-6.—*Distribution of counties by States and percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants*

State ¹	Total counties given	Percent of Negro farm operators who are tenants																				Median	Not given
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Alabama.....	59							2	3.4	1	1.7	2	3.4	10	16.9	14	23.7	24	40.7	6	10.2	80.2	2
Arkansas.....	39									3	7.7	3	7.7	5	12.8	7	17.9	14	35.9	7	17.9	81.0	6
Delaware.....	2									1	50.0	1	50.0										1
Florida.....	25	2	8.0	4	16.0	4	16.0	5	20.0	2	8.0	1	4.0	2	8.0	2	8.0	3	12.0			35.0	41
Georgia.....	133	1	.7	3	2.3	1	.7	1	.7	2	1.5	3	2.3	8	6.0	11	8.2	58	43.6	44	33.1	86.1	15
Kentucky.....	30					3	10.0	3	10.0	4	13.3	3	10.0	7	23.3	2	6.7	1	3.3	1	3.3	55.6	30
Louisiana.....	55					1	1.8	2	3.6	4	7.3	4	7.3	6	10.9	9	16.4	17	30.9	12	21.8	80.9	9
Maryland.....	14			2	14.3	1	7.1	2	14.3	4	28.6	4	28.6	1	7.1							45.0	5
Mississippi.....	77			1	1.3	3	3.9			2	2.6	3	3.9	14	18.1	12	15.6	24	31.2	18	23.4	81.5	5
North Carolina.....	81			2	2.5	6	7.4	3	3.7	9	11.1	12	14.8	17	21.0	14	17.3	12	14.8	6	7.4	65.0	5
Oklahoma.....	22									1	4.5	7	31.8	7	31.8	6	27.3	1	4.5			64.3	3
South Carolina.....	46					3	6.5	1	2.2	3	6.5	1	2.2	1	2.2	9	19.6	21	45.6	7	15.2	82.3	
Tennessee.....	38					2	5.2	3	7.9	6	15.8	4	10.5	5	13.2	5	13.2	12	31.6	1	2.6	68.0	19
Texas.....	84							1	1.2	3	3.6	6	7.1	30	35.7	32	38.1	11	13.1	1	1.2	70.6	20
Virginia.....	72	10	13.9	24	33.3	11	15.3	10	13.9	5	6.9	5	6.9	4	5.6	2	2.8	1	1.4			21.8	12
Total.....	777	13	1.7	36	4.6	35	4.5	33	4.2	51	6.5	65	8.4	117	15.0	125	16.1	199	25.6	103	13.3	73.1	173

¹ Data not available for the District of Columbia and West Virginia.

TABLE S-7.—*Distribution of counties by States according to location of county with respect to Negro colleges*

State	Total number of counties	Location with respect to Negro colleges							
		Two or more Negro colleges in county		One Negro college in county ¹		One or more Negro colleges in an adjacent county		No Negro college in county nor in any adjacent county	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Alabama.....	61	2	3.3	6	9.8	29	47.5	24	39.3
Arkansas.....	45	2	4.4	1	2.0	11	24.4	31	68.9
Delaware.....	3			1	33.3	2	66.7		
District of Columbia.....	1	1	100.0						
Florida.....	66			7	10.6	21	31.8	38	57.6
Georgia.....	148	2	1.3	4	2.7	30	20.2	112	75.7
Kentucky.....	60	1	1.6	1	1.6	9	15.0	49	81.7
Louisiana.....	64	2	3.1	2	3.1	20	31.2	40	62.5
Maryland.....	19	1	5.2	2	10.5	11	57.9	5	26.3
Mississippi.....	82	3	3.7	3	3.7	23	28.0	53	64.6
North Carolina.....	86	2	2.3	8	9.3	28	32.6	48	55.8
Oklahoma.....	25			2	8.0	4	16.0	19	76.0
South Carolina.....	46	3	6.5	8	17.3	26	56.5	9	19.6
Tennessee.....	57	2	3.5	3	5.2	18	31.6	34	59.6
Texas.....	104	3	2.9	8	7.7	36	34.6	57	54.8
Virginia.....	84	2	2.4	7	8.3	26	30.9	49	58.3
West Virginia.....	15			3	20.0	6	40.0	6	40.0
Total.....	966	26	2.6	66	6.8	300	31.1	574	59.4

¹ Chicot County, Ark., and Hawkins County, Tenn., each has a junior college, but as each county has less than 5 percent Negroes in the population it does not appear in the tables.

TABLE S-8.—*Distribution of counties by States according to average length of Negro school term*

State ¹	Total counties given	Average length of Negro school term (in days)																								Medi- an	Not given	
		Under 120		120-129		130-139		140-149		150-159		160-164		165-169		170-174		175-179		180-184		185 and over		Number	Percent			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	26	26	27		
Alabama.....	61	5	8.2	4	6.6	25	41.0	19	31.1	5	8.2	2	3.3					1	1.6					138.6				
Arkansas.....	45	3	6.7	9	20.0	7	15.6	11	24.4	10	22.2	2	4.4							2	66.7	1	33.3	143.2				
Delaware.....	3																					1	100.0					
District of Columbia.....	1																											
Florida.....	66																											
Georgia.....	148			1	.7	10	6.7	79	53.4	28	18.9	14	9.5	4	2.7	7	4.7	1	.7	5	7.6	1	.7	160.4	2	3.0		
Kentucky.....	60	1	1.7			2	3.3	2	3.3	13	21.7	9	15.0	9	15.0	8	13.3	7	11.7	5	8.3	1	1.7	147.9	1	.7		
Louisiana.....	64	1	1.5	8	12.5	10	15.6	25	39.1	8	12.5	6	9.4			2	3.1	1	1.5	3	4.7			165.8	3	5.0		
Maryland.....	19																											
North Carolina.....	86							1	1.2	17	19.8	50	58.1	11	12.8	2	2.3	4	4.6	1	1.2			145.2				
Oklahoma.....	25																											
South Carolina.....	46	4	8.7	6	13.0	18	39.1	12	26.1	3	6.5	3	6.5			6	10.5	4	7.0					166.8				
Tennessee.....	57	1	1.8					1	1.8	8	14.0	23	40.3	9	15.8	3	2.9	4	3.8					162.5	5	8.8		
Texas.....	104			1	.9	12	11.5	31	29.8	34	32.7	7	6.7	7	6.7	3	2.9	4	3.8					171.6	5	4.8		
Virginia.....	84									3	3.6	45	53.6	9	10.7	6	7.1	5	5.9	16	19.0			164.3				
Total.....	869	15	1.7	29	3.3	84	9.7	181	20.8	160	18.4	182	20.9	56	6.4	48	5.5	54	6.2	37	4.3	7	.8	157.3	16	1.8		

¹ Data not available for Mississippi and West Virginia.

TABLE S-9.—*Distribution of counties by States according to Negro-white ratio of average length of school term*

State ¹		Total number of counties	Ratio N/W—Average length of school term												
			60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given	
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
Alabama.....	61	3	4.9	3	4.9	16	26.2	33	54.1	6	9.8	92.6			
Arkansas.....	45	4	8.9	11	24.4	14	31.1	13	28.9	3	6.7	95.4			
Delaware.....	3							1	33.3	2	66.7				
District of Columbia.....	1									1	100.0				
Florida.....	66			19	12.8	79	53.4	36	24.3	13	8.8	86.9	2	3.0	
Georgia.....	148							8	13.3	48	80.0	100.0+	1	7.7	
Kentucky.....	60	1	1.7			27	42.2	5	7.8	4	6.3	81.5			
Louisiana.....	64	2	3.1	26	40.6	8	42.1	10	52.6	1	5.3	91.5			
Maryland.....	19							24	27.9	62	72.1	100.0+			
North Carolina.....	86							8	32.0	17	68.0	100.0+			
Oklahoma.....	25							3	6.5			78.5			
South Carolina.....	46	6	13.0	20	43.5	17	37.0	3	6.5	29	50.9	100.0+	4	7.0	
Tennessee.....	57	1	1.7			1	1.7	22	38.6	9	8.7	89.7	5	4.8	
Texas.....	104			8	7.7	43	41.3	39	37.5	36	42.9	97.8			
Virginia.....	84					21	25.0	27	32.1						
Total.....	869	17	1.9	87	10.0	231	26.6	254	29.2	265	30.5	93.6	15	1.7	

¹ Data not available for West Virginia and Mississippi.

TABLE S-10.—*Distribution of counties by States and current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled*

State ¹	Total number of counties	Current expenditure per Negro pupil enrolled																						
		\$2.50-\$4.99		\$5-\$7.49		\$7.50-\$9.99		\$10-\$12.49		\$12.50-\$14.99		\$15-\$19.99		\$20-\$24.99		\$25-\$29.99		\$30-\$39.99		\$40-and over		Median	Not given	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent			
																							Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Alabama.....	61	4	6.5	10	16.4	14	23.0	15	24.6	13	21.3	4	6.5	1	1.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	\$10.43	—	—
Arkansas.....	45	1	2.2	11	24.4	12	26.7	9	20.0	5	11.1	4	8.9	2	4.4	1	2.2	—	—	—	—	9.70	—	—
Florida.....	66	—	—	—	—	—	1.5	1	1.5	9	13.6	19	28.8	19	28.8	13	19.7	2	3.0	—	—	20.53	2	3.0
Louisiana.....	64	—	—	8	12.5	12	18.8	20	31.3	12	18.7	7	10.9	3	4.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	11.50	—	—
Maryland.....	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	21.0	11	57.9	4	21.0	35.00	—	—
North Carolina.....	86	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2.3	19	22.1	47	54.7	16	18.6	2	2.3	—	—	—	—	17.34	—	—
Oklahoma.....	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4.0	3	12.0	1	4.0	7	28.0	13	52.0	40.38	—	—
South Carolina.....	46	—	—	9	19.6	23	50.0	11	23.9	3	6.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9.02	—	—
Total.....	412	5	1.2	38	9.2	62	15.0	58	14.1	61	14.8	82	19.9	44	10.7	21	5.1	22	5.3	17	4.1	14.23	2	5

¹ Data not available for Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.TABLE S-11.—*Distribution of counties by States and Negro-white ratio of current expenditure per pupil enrolled*

State ¹	Total number of counties	Ratio N/W—Current expenditure per pupil enrolled																								
		0.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Not given		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Median	Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Alabama.....	61	2	3.3	14	22.9	12	19.7	15	24.6	12	19.7	3	4.9	3	4.9											
Arkansas.....	45	1	2.2	3	6.7	12	26.7	10	22.2	6	13.3	5	11.1	3	6.7	3	6.7	2	4.4							
Florida.....	66			2	3.0	8	12.1	22	33.3	22	33.3	8	12.1	1	1.5	1	1.5									
Louisiana.....	64	3	4.4	21	32.8	31	48.4	4	6.3	4	6.3			1	1.6										2	3.0
Maryland.....	19							2	10.5	5	26.3	8	42.1	2	10.5											
North Carolina.....	86					1	1.2	8	9.3	23	26.7	31	36.0	14	16.3	8	9.3	2	10.5							
Oklahoma.....	25							1	4.0																	
South Carolina.....	46			18	39.1	20	43.5	8	17.4			1	4.0	2	8.0	5	20.0	1	4.0	3	12.0	12	48.0			
Total.....	412	6	1.4	58	14.1	84	20.4	70	17.0	72	17.5	56	13.6	26	6.3	17	4.1	6	1.4	3	.7	12	2.9	33.1	2	.5

¹ Data not available for Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.TABLE S-12.—*Distribution of counties by States and percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school*

State ¹	Total number of counties	Percent of all Negro school enrollment in high school																
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-14.9		15.0-19.9		20.0-24.9		25.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		Median	Not given	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Alabama.....	61	45	73.8	13	21.3	2	3.3	1	1.6									
Arkansas.....	45	31	68.9	8	17.8	2	4.4	3	6.7	1	2.2					3.4		
Delaware.....	3			2	66.7			1	33.3							3.6		
District of Columbia.....	1							1	100.0									
Florida.....	66	28	42.4	20	30.3	12	18.2	3	4.5	1	1.5							
Georgia.....	148	90	60.8	45	30.4	9	6.1	2	1.3							6.0	2	3.0
Kentucky.....	60	9	15.0	10	16.7	8	13.3	12	20.0	8	13.3	5	8.3	5	8.3	4.1	2	1.3
Louisiana.....	64	32	50.0	24	37.5	7	10.9	1	1.6							15.6	3	5.0
Maryland.....	19	1	5.3	1	5.3	6	31.6	7	36.8	4	21.0					5.0		
North Carolina.....	86	5	5.8	23	26.7	39	45.3	18	20.9	1	1.2					16.1		
Oklahoma.....	25	4	16.0	5	20.0	3	12.0	9	36.0	3	12.0	1	4.0			11.9		
South Carolina.....	46	16	34.8	27	58.7	3	6.5									15.3		
Tennessee.....	57	3	5.3	16	28.1	17	29.8	5	8.8	1	1.7	1	1.7			6.3		
Texas.....	104	4	3.8	25	24.0	38	36.5	19	18.3	11	10.6					10.7	14	24.6
Virginia.....	84	11	13.1	23	27.4	24	28.5	22	26.2	2	2.4	2	2.4	2	1.9	12.7	5	4.8
West Virginia.....	15	2	13.3			2	13.3	8	53.3	2	13.3	1	6.7			11.7		
Total.....	884	281	31.8	242	27.4	172	19.5	112	12.7	34	3.8	10	1.1	7	.8	8.1	26	2.9

¹ Data for Mississippi not available.

TABLE S-13.—*Distribution of counties by States and Negro-white ratio of percent of all school enrollment in high school*

[illegible]¹ Data not available for Mississippi.

TABLE S-14.—*Distribution of counties by States and average salary of Negro high-school teachers*

State	Total Number of counties	Average salary of Negro high-school teachers																				
		Under \$300		\$300-\$349		\$350-\$399		\$400-\$499		\$500-\$599		\$600-\$699		\$700-\$799		\$800-\$899		\$900 and over		Median	Not given	
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent		Num- ber	Per- cent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Alabama.....	61			2	3.3	4	6.6	11	18.0	28	45.9	9	14.8	1	1.6					\$537.50	6	9.8
Arkansas.....	45	1	2.2			3	6.7	3	6.7	10	22.2	8	17.8	5	11.1	5	11.1	1	2.2	612.50	9	20.0
Delaware.....	3																	3	100.0			
Florida.....	66	1	1.5					5	7.6	10	15.1	8	12.1	5	7.6	5	7.6	4	6.1	637.50	28	42.4
Georgia.....	148	4	2.7	1	.7	3	2.0	13	8.8	25	16.9	20	13.5	14	9.5	2	1.3	2	1.3	584.00	64	43.2
Kentucky.....	60							1	1.7	1	1.7	4	6.7	3	5.0	12	20.0	7	11.6	841.67	32	53.3
Louisiana.....	64							8	12.5	14	21.9	15	23.4	5	7.8			2	3.1	600.00	20	31.3
Maryland.....	19													4	21.0	9	47.4	5	26.3	855.56	1	5.3
North Carolina.....	86									1	1.2	29	33.7	36	41.9	8	9.3	2	2.3	722.22	10	11.6
South Carolina.....	46					2	4.3	16	34.8	18	39.1	3	6.5	3	6.5	1	2.2			519.44	3	6.5
Tennessee.....	57							1	1.7	6	10.5	11	19.3	9	15.8	7	12.3	3	5.3	705.55	20	35.1
Texas.....	104									2	1.9	17	16.3	18	17.3	21	20.2	23	22.1	816.67	23	22.1
Virginia.....	84							6	7.1	4	4.8	20	23.8	16	19.0	6	7.1	11	13.1	709.38	21	25.0
Total.....	843	6	.7	3	.4	12	1.4	64	7.6	119	14.1	144	17.1	119	14.1	76	9.0	63	7.5	668.75	237	28.1

¹Data not available for District of Columbia, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

TABLE S-15.—*Distribution of counties by States and Negro-white ratio of average salary of high-school teachers*

State ¹	Total number of counties	Ratio N/W—Average salary of high-school teachers																			Not given		
		Under 30.0		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
Alabama	61	1	1.6	4	6.6	19	31.1	17	27.9	13	21.3	1	1.6							52.1	6	9.8	
Arkansas	45			3	6.7	1	2.2	1	2.2	8	17.8	5	11.1	9	20.0	5	11.1	4	8.9	80.0	9	20.0	
Delaware	3													1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3				
Florida	66	2	3.0	5	7.6	10	15.2	9	13.6	6	9.1	3	4.5	2	3.0	1	1.5			52.2	28	42.4	
Georgia	148	4	2.7	8	5.4	8	5.4	18	12.2	30	20.3	10	6.8	3	2.0			3	2.0	61.3	64	43.2	
Kentucky	60					1	1.7	2	3.3	3	5.0	8	13.3	6	10.0	5	8.3	3	5.0	80.0	32	53.3	
Louisiana	64			9	14.1	20	31.3	8	12.5	7	10.9	2	3.1							47.0	18	28.1	
Maryland	19					1	5.2	12	63.3	3	15.8	1	5.2			1	5.2			56.7	1	5.2	
North Carolina	86									10	11.6	44	51.2	17	19.8	1	1.1	4	4.7	76.4	10	11.6	
South Carolina	46			3	6.5	20	43.5	13	28.3	5	10.9	2	4.3							49.3	3	6.5	
Tennessee	57							3	5.3	15	26.3	10	17.5	5	8.8	2	3.5	1	1.8	70.0	21	36.8	
Texas	104					4	3.8	21	20.2	20	19.2	22	21.2	8	7.7	5	4.8	1	1.0	67.8	23	22.1	
Virginia	84					3	3.6	18	21.4	21	25.0	14	16.7	2	2.4	4	4.7	2	2.4	65.2	20	23.8	
Total	843	7	.8	32	3.8	87	10.3	122	14.5	141	16.7	122	14.5	53	6.3	25	3.0	19	2.2	64.0	235	27.9	

¹ Data not available for District of Columbia, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

TABLE S-16.—*Distribution of counties by States and percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training*

State ¹	Total number of counties	Percent of Negro teachers with 2 or more years of college training																				Not given		
		Under 30.0		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-84.9		85.0-89.9		90.0-94.9		95.0 and over				
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Median	Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Alabama	61	22	36.1	12	19.7	15	24.6	5	8.2	4	6.5	2	3.3									36.7	1	1.6
Arkansas	45			4	8.9	11	24.4	7	15.6	6	13.3	5	11.1			1	2.2	3	6.7	2	4.4	56.4	6	13.3
Delaware	3									1	33.3							1	33.3	1	33.3			
Florida	66	12	18.2	2	3.0	2	3.0	3	4.5	7	10.6	4	6.1	6	9.1	2	3.0	11	16.7	7	10.6	75.0	10	15.2
Louisiana	64	12	18.8	7	10.9	7	10.9	4	6.3	8	12.5	7	10.9	7	10.9			4	6.3	6	9.4	61.2	2	3.1
Maryland	19																	2	10.5	17	89.5	97.2		
Oklahoma	25											1	4.0			4	16.0			19	76.0	96.8	1	4.0
Tennessee	57	1	1.8	4	7.0	7	12.3	8	14.0	8	14.0	8	14.0	2	3.5	3	5.3	2	3.5	3	5.3	63.7	11	19.3
Texas	104									1	1.0	8	7.7	2	1.9	10	9.6	18	17.3	53	51.0	95.8	14	13.4
Virginia	84							4	4.8	13	15.5	17	20.2	16	11.9	14	16.7	8	9.5	12	14.3	82.5	6	7.1
Total	528	47	8.9	29	5.5	42	8.0	31	5.9	48	9.0	47	8.9	30	5.7	34	6.4	49	9.3	120	22.7	78.8	51	9.7

¹ Data not available for District of Columbia, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and West Virginia.

TABLE S-17.—*Distribution of counties by States and Negro-white ratio of the percent of teachers with 2 or more years of college training*

State ¹	Total number of counties	Ratio N/W—Percent of teachers with 2 or more years of college training																				
		Under 30.0		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-89.9		90.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Alabama	61	11	18.0	15	24.6	10	16.4	14	23.0	6	9.8	1	1.6	3	4.9					44.0	1	1.6
Arkansas	45			2	4.4	2	4.4	7	15.6	6	13.3	7	15.6	6	13.3	4	8.9	5	11.1	73.6	6	13.3
Delaware	3													1	33.3	1	33.3					
Florida	66	6	9.1	3	4.5	4	6.1	1	1.5	2	3.0	4	6.1	5	7.6	4	6.1	27	40.9	97.5	10	15.1
Louisiana	64	9	14.1	9	14.1	7	10.9	4	6.2	6	9.4	10	15.6	7	10.9	4	6.2	6	9.4	63.3	2	3.1
Maryland	19															3	15.8	16	84.2	100.0+		
Oklahoma	25											1	4.0	1	4.0	9	36.0	13	52.0	100.0+	1	4.0
Tennessee	57					2	3.5	4	7.0	8	14.0	6	10.5	8	14.0	6	10.5	12	21.1	83.7	11	19.3
Texas	104									1	1.0	1	1.0	8	7.7	40	38.4	40	38.4	98.7	14	13.5
Virginia	84							1	1.2	6	7.1	12	14.3	24	28.6	24	28.6	11	13.1	88.3	6	7.1
Total	528	26	4.9	29	5.5	25	4.7	31	5.9	35	6.6	42	8.0	63	11.9	95	18.0	131	24.8	88.0	51	9.7

¹ Data not available for the District of Columbia, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and West Virginia.

TABLE S-18.—*Distribution of counties by States and number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 in county*

State	Total number of counties	Number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1,000 Negroes age 15-19 years																								
		0.0-4.9		5.0-9.9		10.0-19.9		20.0-29.9		30.0-39.9		40.0-49.9		50.0-59.9		60.0-69.9		70.0-79.9		80.0-99.9		100.0 and over		Median	Not given	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Alabama	61	7	11.5	15	24.6	19	31.1	13	21.3	4	6.6	2	3.3											14.2	1	1.6
Arkansas	45	6	13.3	15	33.3	8	17.8	6	13.3	4	8.9		3.3		4.4	3	6.7							11.3	1	2.2
Delaware	3													2												
District of Columbia	1											3	100.0													
Florida	66	12	18.2	3	4.5	12	18.2	6	9.1	9	13.6	2	3.0													
Georgia	148	47	31.7	33	22.3	38	25.7	14	9.4	6	4.1	3	2.0	4	6.1	3	4.5	2	3.0	4	6.1	1	1.5	23.3	8	12.1
Kentucky	60	1	1.7	3	5.0	9	15.0	6	10.0	9	15.0	2	3.3	5	8.3	2	3.3			1	1.7			23.3	8	12.1
Louisiana	64	14	21.9	4	6.3	23	35.9	11	17.2	6	9.4	3	4.7	1	1.5	5	8.3	1	1.7	3	5.0	2	3.3	36.1	11	18.3
Maryland	19			1	5.3	2	10.5	10	52.6	3	15.8	2	10.5	2	10.5			1	5.3	1	5.3			26.5	1	1.5
Mississippi	82	31	37.8	25	30.5	21	25.6	3	3.7	2	2.4													7.0		
North Carolina	86	1	1.2	4	4.6	18	20.9	22	25.6	15	17.4	11	12.8	4	4.6	5	5.8			3	3.5	1	1.2	28.6	2	2.3
Oklahoma	25			2	8.0	3	12.0	3	12.0	3	12.0	2	8.0			3	12.0	2	8.0	3	4.0	5	20.0	45.0	1	4.0
South Carolina	46	2	4.3	5	10.9	18	39.1	14	30.4	4	8.7	1	2.2	2	4.3									26.4	7	12.3
Tennessee	57	6	10.5	3	5.3	7	12.3	14	24.5	8	14.0	4	7.0			3	5.3	2	3.5	3	5.3			18.9		
Texas	104	5	4.8	7	6.7	24	23.1	18	17.3	17	16.3	6	5.8	2	1.9	3	2.9	7	6.7	2	1.9	3	2.9	26.1	10	9.6
Virginia	84	17	20.2	10	11.9	22	26.2	13	15.5	10	11.9	5	5.9	2	2.4	2	2.4	1	1.2			1	1.2	16.6	1	1.2
West Virginia	15			1	6.7							3	20.0			1	6.7	3	20.0	3	20.0	4	26.6	78.3		
Total	96																									

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